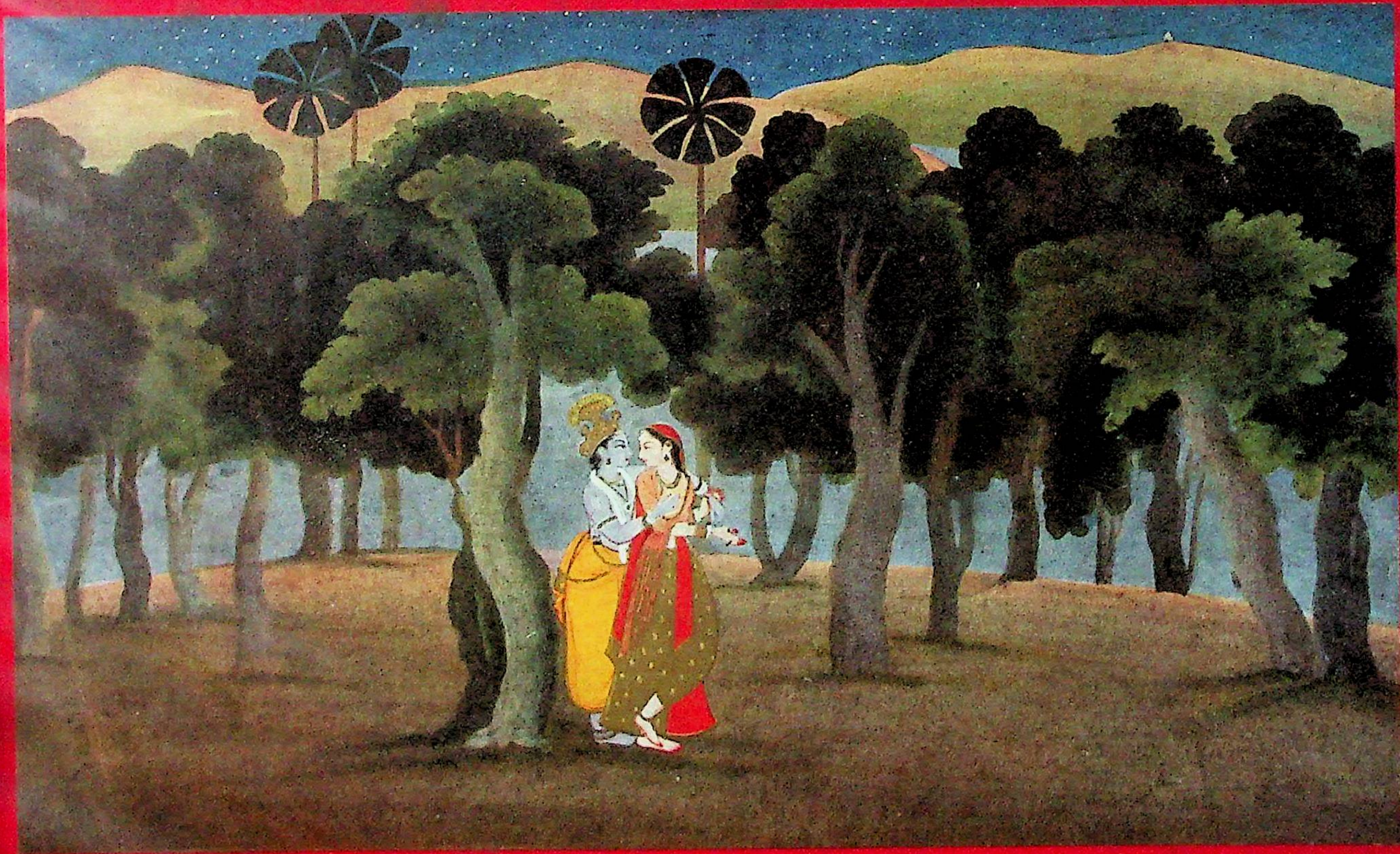
KANGRA PAINTINGS OF THE GĪTA GOVINDA



NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI

KANGRA PAINTINGS OF THE GĪTA GOVINDA

M.S.RANDHAWA

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Introduction by W. G. Archer



NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI

Kangra Paintings of the Gīta Govinda is the third in the series of five monographs on Kangra Painting planned by Dr. M. S. Randhawa. The first was *Kangra Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the second *Kangra Paintings on Love*. The next in the series will be *Kangra Paintings of the Bihārī Sat Saī*.

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To
Humayun Kabir
in deep admiration

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COLOUR PLATES

What skill may be in singing,
What worship sound in song,
What lore be taught in loving,
What right divined from wrong;
Such things hath Jayadeva,
In this hymn of love,
Which lauds Govinda ever,—
Displayed; may all approve!

Sir Edwin Arnold

PREFACE

A delightful translation of the *Gīta Govinda* was presented to the Western world by Sir Edwin Arnold in 1875. In its voluptuous imagery and passion, the nearest parallel to it could be found only in Solomon's *Song of Songs* in the Old Testament, and hence he called it the *Indian Song of Songs*. Earlier, it had been translated into English by Sir William Jones in 1792, but his translation remained buried in the learned *Journal of Asiatick Researches* of Calcutta. Jones was followed by the German poet Rückert (1836), whose German translation is as near to the beauty of the original in form and matter as is feasible in any translation. Courtillier (1904) translated it into French. However, the real credit for bringing this Sanskrit poem to the notice of English speaking people goes to Arnold, and his English version of the *Gīta Govinda* in rhyming verse ranks with his other great work, *The Light of Asia*. Puran Singh (1926) provided another translation of the great poem in blank verse, which was included in his *Spirit of Oriental Poetry*. Untrammelled by the limitations of metre and rhyming, it is very close to the spirit of the original. I came across this translation in 1952, when I was engaged in the quest for Kangra paintings, and was collecting whatever specimens had remained in the Valley with the Rājās and their relatives. It moved me greatly and I spent many happy hours reading and re-reading it. I was reminded of a reproduction of a painting of the *Gīta Govinda* series in N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, which I had seen in 1938. The scene was a nocturne with Rādhā and Kṛishṇa seated on a bed of leaves with the river flowing past the tryst in a gentle curve. How soft and tender, and yet warm in atmosphere! The colour was glorious, a wonderful soft blue, and the painting had a mysterious beauty which haunted me (Plate XIV). The painting reminded me of the beautiful countryside of Alampur, Tira-Sujanpur and Lambagraon in the Kangra Valley where the Beas, the river of romance and destiny, gently flows, flanked by low green hills. Here in these villages lived the artists of the great Sansār Chand, in communion with Nature, realizing the sense of mystical affinity between the life of nature and the life of man, and between the beauty of flowers and the beauty of love. They were seekers of sunlight and life, and they gave us an art which is an expression of love, beauty and truth.

Since India became independent, considerable interest has developed with regard to her achievements in the realm of art, in the past as well as in the present. All over the world also, there is a newly stirred curiosity about the art of India. To this situation, the Government of India responded in a generous and imaginative manner. I was asked by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to present the material which I had collected in a book entitled *Kangra Valley Painting* which they published. In this book I was able to present forty

masterpieces of Kangra painting, which I had discovered in the period 1950–54. This book was received with great joy by the lovers of painting. In fact, it paved the way for further work on this most delightful school of Hindu painting. Mahārājā Mānvindra Shāh of Tehri-Garhwal, who resides in New Delhi, possesses the finest products of the Kangra School, and he was also delighted by the reproductions in *Kangra Valley Painting*. I met him in 1955 and suggested that the paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* in his family collection, of which N. C. Mehta had published two in his book, should be printed so that they could be seen by the lovers of painting the world over. He very generously accepted my request and placed the portfolio of his paintings at my disposal. Originally, the project of publishing the *Gīta Govinda* paintings was taken up by the Lalit Kalā Akademi in their programme. They agreed to publish an album with twelve reproductions in colour. Due to various reasons, it got delayed. Though this delay appeared very irksome at the moment, ultimately it proved to be a boon.

On a visit to Shantiniketan in September 1957, I got an opportunity of travelling to Kenduli also. The countryside of Birbhum where Kenduli is situated is truly enchanting in the month of September. The paddy fields stretching for miles appear like an ocean of green, studded with islands of mud-huts buried in groves of palmyra palms, bamboos, mangoes and tamarinds. The ponds are covered with dwarf white lilies, blue lilies and pink and red lotuses. In the sky were hovering the golden kites, the *sankho chīls*, symbols of good luck. At the entrance of Kenduli is the temple erected by a Rājā of Birbhum in the seventeenth century on the site of the poet's home. It is an example of the *nava-ratna* or nine-towered type of temple, in which the central tower is surrounded by two sets of corner towers at two different levels. Three of the four towers at the higher level have disappeared, but otherwise the temple is in good preservation. The temple was declared a protected monument by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1915. Its façade is richly decorated with brick tiles representing the incarnations of Vishṇu and scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. It is a good example of Birbhum terracotta art, with a carpet-like design, which is very pleasing. Inside the temple are two small images of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā on a platform below which is inscribed Jayadeva's famous verse in Bengali script:

Dhehi padapallavamudāram.

An old Brahmin priest seated in front of the images was reciting verses from the *Gīta Govinda*.

On the last day of the month of *Pausha* and the first two days of *Māgha*, i.e. about the middle of January, a fair is held in honour of Jayadeva, which is attended by a large number of Vaishṇava pilgrims who sing *ashṭapadis* from the *Gīta Govinda*, and pay homage to Jayadeva, and the cowherd god Kṛishṇa.

About a furlong away on the bank of the Ajai river is a temple of no architectural merit, in which is preserved a square stone slab on which Jayadeva used to sit facing the river, in prayer and meditation, contemplating the beauty of the river, the monsoon clouds, the sunrise and the sunset. It is wrongly stated in the *District Gazetteer of Birbhum* that "Jayadeva died at Kenduli where he lies buried." A few hundred yards from Jayadeva's temple is another temple under a large banyan tree in which there is a tomb of a tāntric sādhu, which has possibly been mistaken

for the tomb of Jayadeva. According to the inhabitants of Kenduli the tradition is that Jayadeva died at Vṛindāvana, where he had gone to spend the last days of his earthly journey. While leaving for Vṛindāvana he also carried with him his favourite images of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, which he had recovered from the bed of the Ajai river.

This trip to Kenduli was emotionally very satisfying. Now I could feel the atmosphere of the land of birth of Jayadeva. In the following winter I visited Orissa, and saw the temple of Jagannath at Puri, where Padmāvatī danced. I saw the famous beach at Puri where Jayadeva wandered admiring the moonlight playing on the waves. In the villages of Orissa I also saw the screw-pines filling the air with their cool fragrance, and the beauteous *aśoka* gemmed with bunches of flame-like flowers. The groves of palmyra palms, mangoes, and bamboos further reminded me of Jayadeva's poem, and the trysts of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa.

In July 1958, I developed a programme of publications on Indian paintings with the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of the Government of India. I was getting impatient at the delay on the part of the Lalit Kalā Akademi in the publication of the album on the *Gīta Govinda* paintings. I also felt, it was no justice to the great poem, as well as to the paintings, if they were published in the form of a small album. At this juncture I happened to meet Mr. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, and made a request to him to take over the *Kangra Paintings of the Gīta Govinda* in the publication programme of the National Museum of India. I also suggested that the *Gīta Govinda* in Sanskrit should be printed along with the paintings. He readily accepted my request. This happy accident, no doubt, resulted in the presentation of these paintings in a much better form.

My friend, Mr. W.G. Archer, happened to pay a visit to India in April 1960, and his advice further proved valuable in bringing out this book in its present form. We reached Hardwar on April 20, and from there motored to Narendra Nagar, the home of Mahārājā Mānvindra Shāh, overlooking the Hṛishīkesha Valley with the river Gaṅgā flowing at its feet. In this pleasant mountain retreat of the Mahārājā, we saw his entire collection and also discovered the colophon of the painting which bears the name of Māṇakū, the artist who painted this series of paintings. With his customary generosity, the Mahārājā further allowed the reproduction of seven more of his paintings, and for this I am deeply grateful to him.

I express my gratitude to Shri Bhanu Mehta for his kind permission to use photographs of some of the paintings from the collection of his father, the late Shri N. C. Mehta. I am also grateful to the Lalit Kalā Akademi for the loan of some of their blocks. Again, I am deeply indebted to Rai Krishnadasa for his permission to reproduce one of the finest paintings of the series (Pl. III).

In explaining the paintings and their texts, I have relied mainly on the translation of Sir William Jones, shorn of its archaic words and with many improvements suggested by Dr. Raghu Vira, the well-known Sanskrit scholar. Quotations from the translation of Sir Edwin Arnold, where they are relevant to the paintings, are also given. Texts of paintings, as well as the original Sanskrit poem are also provided. Mr. Archer has been kind enough to write a very valuable Introduction which will clear for good the fog which had gathered around the inscription

on the colophon of the Kangra Gīta Govinda paintings. I am deeply grateful to him for the immense pains he has taken for this book, and for the guidance and help he has given me in my studies of the Kangra paintings. In fact it is his friendship and appreciation which kept me stimulated all these years, and launched me on this venture of writing monographs on the five great series of Kangra paintings.

The Times of India Press and Fram Poonawala of Commercial Art Engravers (P) Ltd. have spared no pains in providing faithful reproductions of the paintings. The layout of the book has been provided by Jyotish Bhattacharjee. Ajit Mookerjee gave a number of helpful suggestions in the design and layout. N. S. Bisht and O. P. Ghulati designed the jacket. Amrik Singh, Photographer of the National Museum, has provided photographs of some of the paintings which serve as illustrations to the introductory chapters. The manuscript has been typed by Satya Paul, L. Rajagopalan and S. Viswanathan, my Personal Assistants. Mr. G. U. Mehta of Vakil & Sons (P) Ltd., assisted by S. M. Desai, has taken personal interest in the production of this book. Proofs have been seen by Dr. P. Banerjee. I convey my gratitude to all of them for their collaboration. Last but not least I express my grateful thanks to Dr. Grace Morley, Director, National Museum and Mr. T. S. Krishnamurti, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, for the interest they have taken and the support they have given to this programme of art publications.

Here is the finest gift from India, her most delightful poetry, and her most beautiful paintings. I have no doubt that this book will be enjoyed by many people. It will bring home to them the serenity and calm of the Kangra Valley, her gentle hills and valleys, and the sensuous charm of Bengal in the form of her greatest poem.

M. S. Randhawa

7, Tinmurti Lane
New Delhi
January 10, 1963

INTRODUCTION

I

In the history of Indian painting two patrons impress us by their strangely similar qualities. The Mughal Emperor Akbar was fourteen when in 1556 he succeeded his father, Humāyūn. Rājā Sansār Chand of Kangra was only ten when he followed his father, the somewhat colourless Tegh Chand, in 1775. Each was fashioned by his court yet each proved himself the greatest member of his line. Akbar vastly extended the Mughal empire, absorbing the whole of northern India. Sansār Chand outdid his mighty grandfather, Ghamānd Chand, controlling, at the height of his power, the southern half of the Punjab Hills. The Kangra 'empire' was no larger than a Mughal province, yet despite this difference in scale, it reflected the same masterful qualities. Its ruler possessed astute brilliance, complete understanding of his rivals, a need for private grandeur and a desire to leave some personal impress on the culture of his day. Akbar had these same characteristics to which were joined a love of luxury, delight in women and response to religion. Both were endowed with a sense of poetry but nowhere is their similarity more apparent than in their attitude to painting.

Profiting by his father's abortive attempts to found an Indian Imperial style, Akbar assembled a group of Indian artists and imbued them with his own zest. He framed a clear programme and by energetic direction brought into being one of the greatest styles of Indian painting. Separate pictures were not excluded but the finest achievements of his rule were great sets — the *Hamzanāmā*, the *Akbarnāmā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Razmnāmā* — in which one manuscript after another was embellished with vivid illustrations.

The same appreciation of masterly sequences was characteristic of Sansār Chand. Assembling like Akbar a group of artists, he evoked a whole variety of pictures, redolent of poetry, religion and romance. In Akbar's studios two master-artists — Abdus Samad and Mīr Sayyid Alī — played a major part in first establishing the new style. They were succeeded by later masters, such as Manohar and Basāwan, whose genius marked the closing years of the reign. In Kangra, a few great masters also dominated the scene, and it was these who evolved, singly or jointly, the great Kangra style. Their manner can be seen in separate pictures, but it was the creation of large sets at Kangra, which brings us to the final similarity between Mughal painting under Akbar and Kangra painting under Sansār Chand.

Like Akbar, Sansār Chand sponsored illustrated copies of certain great texts — the tenth and eleventh books of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the story of Nala and Damayantī, Jayadeva's great

poem, the *Gīta Govinda*, Bihārī's verses, the *Sat Saī*, and a full-scale *Rāgamālā*. Marvellous as individual pictures may have been, it is the sustained quality of these five great sets, which gives to Kangra painting its stature.

Amongst these sets, the Kangra *Gīta Govinda* is unique. Unlike the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* — the subject of Dr. Randhawa's previous study[1] — it does not describe the whole career of Kṛishṇa, his childish pranks, encounters with demons and god-like interventions. It fastens rather on his role of supreme romantic lover. Picture after picture follows Jayadeva's text, where beauties stricken with love delight in Kṛishṇa's presence. The violence of love, its strenuous combats, is avoided. Ladies languish with grief yet even at moments of despair their innate breeding precludes recourse to rough or brusque gestures. Faces are noble and serene, figures tall and graceful, stances exquisite and poised. Rādhā is the heroine, yet every woman is a princess imbued with idyllic grace. Each receives tender respect, each is delicately appraised. Kṛishṇa's intimate caresses, his quick skill, his gentle insistence blend with the flowering landscape to create an atmosphere of loving adoration. Nowhere else does Kangra painting attempt so vast a survey of romantic encounters or express with quite such tender poetry its passionate adhesion to the cult of love.

But another, quite different circumstance gives this set unusual importance. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is unhappily dispersed. It possesses no colophon and neither its date of composition nor the artists who executed it have been recorded. The same applies to the Nala-Damayantī drawings, Bihārī's *Sat Saī* and the Kangra *Rāgamālā*. The greatest sets of pictures at Kangra, in fact, are anonymous. There is only one exception and that is the Kangra *Gīta Govinda*. The opening picture bears a Sanskrit verse, quoting an artist, a patron and a date. Alone, then, of all the great Kangra series this is a set which seemingly provides us with a vital inscription. Yet, when we scrutinise it, we find that, instead of 1780 — the date which, on grounds of style, we might expect it to bear — the date given is 1730. And to add to the problem, the whole verse is the same as one inscribed on a second *Gīta Govinda* series from another Punjab Hill state, Basohli.[2] The date of this Basohli series may well be 1730, and there can be little doubt that it was for this particular series that the verse was originally composed. The Kangra *Gīta Govinda* is unique in Kangra painting from the very fact of possessing such an inscription, but, for some mysterious reason, the inscription which it bears is not a new one but the copy of an old one.

II

To resolve this mystery must be our aim. But first we must answer another question: what does the inscription mean? It might be thought that with so much Sanskrit learning available in India, the very home of Sanskrit, this would be no problem at all. Yet for almost forty years the

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1 M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (New Delhi, 1960).

2 M. S. Randhawa, *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), Pls. 19-25. Dr. P. Banerjee points out that the verse on the Kangra series "is preceded by *om* and followed by the numeral '1'. There are also *virāma* signs both at the beginning and end of the verse. The Basohli series does not have these." Apart from these minor differences, the two inscriptions are identical. In both, however, *gariṣṭhā* is mis-spelt *gariṣṭā*. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Banerjee for valuable and constructive criticisms.

question has been discussed by art historians and scholars. Authorities have been cited, opinions given, but still agreement has not been reached.

The Sanskrit verse which appears on both the Kangra and Basohli *Gīta Govinda* sets runs as follows:

munivasugirisomaiḥ saṁmite vikramābde
guṇigaṇitagariṣṭā(ṭhā) mālinī(-)vṛttavittā
vyaracayad ajabhaktā māṇakūcitrakartrā
lalitalipivicitraṁ gītagoviṁdacitram

The transliteration is by Mr. J. C. Wright and Professor A. L. Basham of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, both of whom were good enough to discuss it with me. I had two aims. The first was to find out what the verse meant. The second was to understand, if I could, why it meant what it did. Both went to great pains to interpret the verse and my analysis is based on what they said. I also discussed the verse with Mr. Michael Coulson of Oxford who generously added fresh points. Indeed, I owe more than I can say to his tireless patience. The following pages give an account of how these three scholars in Sanskrit explained the verse to me.

For arriving at its meaning, they invited me to bear in mind the following points. The verse, they said, was in good grammatical Sanskrit of the medieval period and it must therefore be taken as, in fact, good and grammatical. It should be strictly interpreted *as it stood.*

The purpose of the stanza, they then went on, was to say how and when an illustrated copy of Jayadeva's great poem, the *Gīta Govinda*, had been made. The verse accordingly had a subject, a verb and an object. It also had a date. It said, in other words, that a certain person had caused a certain artist to illustrate a certain copy and in a certain year.

The first line of the verse is devoted to the date. It runs as follows:

munivasugirisomaiḥ saṁmite vikramābde:

vikramābde means 'in the Vikrama year', *saṁmite*, 'measured by' or 'of which the number is', *muni* 'sages', *vasu* 'gems', *giri* 'mountains', *somaiḥ* 'moon'. In Sanskrit poetry it is normal practice to refer to numerals by the objects which possess them. There is only one moon. Hence 'moon' means 'one'. There were seven holy mountains, so 'mountains' means 'seven'. On the same principle, 'gems' gives us 'eight' and 'sages' 'seven'. Following yet another convention, these objects are presented in reverse. To get the date, then, we must turn them round and in the present case this gives us the figures 1787. This year is in the Indian era known as 'Vikrama', an era which is 57 years ahead of Western reckoning. The date in Western terms, therefore, is 1730 A.D.

We come now to the next vital word, the verb. This is *vyaracayad* and we notice at once two things. It comes in the third line and is imbedded in three phrases. Two of these are what are technically known as compounds — words which are 'glued' together so as to make what are, to all intents and purposes, single words. The two phrases in question are *guṇigaṇitagariṣṭhā* in the second line and *ajabhaktā* in the third. The third phrase occurs in the second line and can be read either as *mālinīvṛttavittā* (or, in other words, as a full compound) or as *mālinī vṛttavittā* (the two words *vṛttavittā* being linked and the third, *mālinī*, remaining separate). This last phrase precedes

the verb while *ajabhaktā* comes immediately after it. The verb itself, *vyaracayad*, means 'got prepared' and refers to *gītagoviṁdacitram*, 'the illustrated Gīta Govinda' of the fourth and last line. I was asked to note that the verb was in the third person singular and I was further reminded that all three phrases, *guṇigaṇitagariṣṭhā*, *vṛttavittā* and *ajabhaktā*, possessed the same ending *ā*. This shows that they are all feminine, nominative and singular, and hence can only apply to a singular subject of the verb. This subject in turn must be feminine. The fundamental point, therefore, which immediately emerges is that we are dealing with a lady patron — a princess or lady of means rather than a Rājā or male patron.

If a lady is the subject, how then can we know who she was? There are three possible ways. Her actual name might be expressly given, it might be hinted at or she might be known on account of various qualities.

It is natural to assume that the patroness of either of these sumptuous sets would hardly go to the trouble of having a special verse inserted without mentioning her own name. And, in fact, the verse does contain two names. But only one is both nominative and feminine. This is the name Mālinī. *Mālinī* is a name of the goddess *Durgā* and also of one of her female attendants. It appears in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of a celestial maiden, as that of one of the seven *Mātṛis* of Skanda and as the name of a *Rākshasī* or female demon. It was also the name assumed by *Draupadī* when she was resident with King Virāṭa. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, it is the name of *Ruci's* wife and *Manu Raucya's* mother (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*). *Mālinī* is, in fact, a fully known proper name and 'the lady *Mālinī*' therefore could well be the subject of the verse.

We have seen, however, that in the verse *Mālinī* appears next to the words *vṛttavittā*. If we separate *Mālinī* from them and take her as subject, *vṛttā* means 'good conduct' and *vittā* 'wealth' or 'famed'. The whole phrase, therefore, means 'the lady Mālinī, whose conduct was her wealth' or 'the lady Mālinī, famed for her good conduct'.

But besides being a proper name, *Mālinī* is also the name of a special Sanskrit metre. In this usage, *vṛttā* does not mean 'good conduct' but refers to a particular verse-form — the *mālinī-vṛttā* or *mālinī* metre. *Vittā* then becomes 'skilled in' and the whole phrase means 'skilled in the *Mālinī* metre'.

This second meaning would not preclude the lady from being named *Mālinī* for we must bear in mind a very common Sanskrit practice — the use of puns. If her name was actually *Mālinī*, then, being skilled in the *Mālinī* metre and herself a poet, she might well have availed of this common device and revealed her name through the metre. It is significant that the verse is composed in this same *Mālinī* metre. There was no particular reason for singling out *Mālinī* metre as the only metre in which she was skilled. Nor was there any reason for using *Mālinī* metre in preference to any other Sanskrit metre for the verse in question. The most natural explanation, therefore, is that it is a pun on her name. Both meanings, in fact, are equally and simultaneously admissible and the very presence of the pun and the neatness of its inclusion proves the verse to be by a good writer.

Supposing, however, that *Mālinī* is not the lady's name and that 'skilled in the *Mālinī* metre' has no special significance, how can we identify her? The answer, I was told, is through her

attributes. We have seen that three phrases, each in feminine gender, surround the verb *vyaracayad*. *Guṇigaṇitagariṣṭhā* means 'who was counted most venerable by the virtuous' or more simply, 'was revered by the virtuous', *mālinīvṛttavittā* 'who was skilled in the *Mālinī* metre' and *ajabhaktā* 'who was devoted to the Unborn, i.e. to God'. Whether she is named (directly or indirectly) *Mālinī*, or is apostrophised through her qualities, the verse tells us who she was.

There remain three further phrases — at the end of the third line *māṇakūcitrakartrā* and the whole of the fourth line *lalitalipivicitraṁ gītagoviṁdacitram*. We have seen that the latter phrase means 'an illustrated *Gīta Govinda*' and that so far the verse means 'a lady with certain qualities got prepared this illustrated copy of the *Gīta Govinda*'. *Lalitalipivicitraṁ* need not detain us long. It obviously refers, I was told, to the copy of the poem and means 'diversified, graced or adorned with charming calligraphy or fine hand-writing.'

We are left, then, with only one phrase *māṇakūcitrakartrā*. *Māṇakū* is a proper name. *Citrakartrā* means 'by a male painter'. Taking the phrase to be a compound, therefore, it means, on the face of it, 'by the male painter *Māṇakū*'. This meaning accords with standard practice and I recalled how in inscriptions on Indian pictures it was normal to give both the artist's name and also his profession. The inscription on the famous picture of Rājā Sardār Singh of Kishangarh[3] refers to the artist not as Amar Chand but as *musavar Amar Chand*. The Mewar *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series dated 1648[4] does not say Sahabadi but *chitaro Sahabadi* (the painter Sahabadi). An inscription on a Bikaner picture[5] reads *amal Nur Muhammad musavar* (the work of the painter Nur Muhammad). Nowhere, in fact, do we find the word *musavar* or *citrakāra* being used alone but always as suffix or prefix to a proper name. The most obvious inference, then, is that *citrakartrā* qualifies *Māṇakū* and the phrase as a whole means 'by the male painter *Māṇakū*.'

Māṇakū, however, is not itself a Sanskrit name and, in default of evidence to the contrary, might appear to apply to either men or women. Can we be sure that it goes with *citrakartrā* and is male or might it be separate and in that case feminine?

At this point I was fortunate enough to meet Dr. Brijendra Nath Goswamy and Mr. Harnam Singh Shan. Dr. Goswamy is a lecturer in History at the Punjab University, Chandigarh, and recently obtained a doctorate for a thesis on the very subject which most concerns us. Its title is *The Social Background of Kangra Valley Painting*. He has lived all his life in the Punjab and knows the Punjab Hills. He has also lived in the Kangra district where the Kangra *Gita Govinda* series was executed. He was fully aware of the name *Māṇakū* and how it was used in Kangra and the Punjab Hills. The following explanation is what he gave me.

The root word, he said, is *Māṇak*. This is a masculine or neuter noun which means 'jewel' or 'precious stone'. It is a very common name but, as a name, it is used only for men, never for women. The feminine is *Māṇakī*. If a Punjābi or Pahāri family wishes to call its son 'Precious' or 'Jewel', it names him *Māṇak*. If it desires to call its daughter 'Precious' or 'Jewel', it names her

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[3] K. Khandalavala and Eric Dickinson, *Kishangarh Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), Pl. X.

[4] K. Khandalavala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Mārg*, IV, No. 3, p. 4.

[5] H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* (Oxford, 1950), Pl. X.

Māṇakī. In fact, just as in English there are male and female versions of the same name — Henrietta, for example, being feminine of Henry and Henry the male version of Henrietta — *Māṇak* is exclusively male, *Māṇakī* exclusively female. To say *Rāṇī Māṇak* would be as absurd as saying *Rājā Māṇakī*. It would be like saying in English 'King Elizabeth' or 'Queen Charles'.

Māṇak, then, is male. But what is *Māṇakū?* On this, Dr. Goswamy was quite definite. *Māṇakū*, he said, is male and is the familiar variant of *Māṇak*. When a boy or man is named *Māṇak*, people who know him well call him *Māṇakū* just as, in a similar way, *Chhoṭā* is made *Chhoṭū*, *Brij Birjū* and *Sohan Sohnū*. In each case, the long *ū* implies affection or familiarity. There is a similar practice in the case of girls and women where 'o' is used for '*ū*'. In this way, *Jānakī* becomes *Jānako*, *Satyā Satto* and *Māṇakī Māṇako*. In English there is the same practice by which 'Margaret' is altered to 'Maggie', 'Michael' to 'Mike', 'William' to 'Bill'.

Māṇakū in our inscription, then, is undoubtedly male, and, as such, must be the painter. Had a woman been intended, it would have read *Māṇako* but in that case the familiar would hardly be appropriate. Calling the patroness 'the lady *Māṇakū*' would, in fact, be like saying 'Princess Maggie'. So free a designation would be just conceivable in intimate court circles but hardly in a formal inscription, still less in one which praised her qualities and virtues. On the other hand, the familiar *Māṇakū* is not at all out of place for an inferior or subordinate. Indeed its use throws light on the whole status of the artist and suggests that, at times, he was even regarded as part of the household, almost in fact as 'one of the family'.

This interpretation was confirmed by Mr. Harnam Singh Shan. Mr. Shan is Head of the Department of Punjābi in the Punjab University, Chandigarh, and like Dr. Goswamy, knows the Punjab and its customs as only a person brought up in them can do. He has the great advantage of specialising in the local language. He confirmed that the familiar '*ū*' was applied only to men and boys and the familiar '*o*' only to girls and women. *Māṇakū* was the male familiar of *Māṇak*, *Māṇako* the female familiar of *Māṇakī*. He gave as an example the place-name, *Māṇakī Sharīf*, in northwest Punjab. His most telling analogy, however, was the name of the founder of his own religion, the Sikh guru *Nānak*. Nānak, he said, was used all over the Punjab as a name for men and the familiar *Nāṇakū* could be heard any day anywhere. But it was never applied to girls or women. These were called *Nāṇakī* or *Nāṇako* and it was unthinkable that *Nāṇakū* could ever be a woman.

These opinions, I felt, settled the matter. We were concerned with the Punjab and the Punjab Hills and both Dr. Goswamy and Mr. Shan were emphatic that in this part of India, at any rate, *Māṇakū* could only have a male meaning. On purely linguistic grounds, however, the same conclusion had been independently arrived at by Professor Basham, Mr. Wright and Mr. Coulson and I will briefly state their reasons.

If *Māṇakū* is feminine, they had argued, it has no place in the verse except as the subject of the verb. But we already have one name, *Mālinī*, as the subject and do not need a second. Again, if *Māṇakū* is feminine, we would expect it to conform to Sanskrit grammar. Certain Sanskrit nouns end in *ū* and in the nominative when preceding *c* or *ch*, this *ū* becomes *ūś*. To be

nominative *Māṇakū* must, therefore, he *Māṇakūś*, yet this is precisely what it is not. Since *Māṇakū* is not a feminine nominative, it is not the subject of the verb. What, then, is it doing in the verse?

Māṇakū, as a male name, on the other hand, presents no such difficulties. It cannot be the subject of the sentence and indeed only makes sense if we take it as the male painter's name. Since nouns ending in *ū*, especially masculine nouns, form a small and well-defined group in Sanskrit, it was obviously awkward to try to inflect a word like *Māṇakū* which did not belong to this group and indeed was a newcomer to Sanskrit. If it went in at all, therefore, its stem-form was best. The sense, however, required the use of an instrumental—'by the painter'—and this involved inflection. In Sanskrit compounds only the last word of a phrase is inflected. If the painter had possessed a true Sanskrit name, such as *Devadatta*, it could certainly have been inflected and might then have come at the end of the compound. *Māṇakū*, the male name, however, being neither a true Sanskrit name nor easily capable of inflection, could not go at the end of a compound and yet it required the instrumental. The only solution, therefore, was to insert it earlier in the compound—where it did not need inflection—and convey the instrumental by means of *citrakartrā*. This is what our poet has done and by medieval standards, I was told, no crime had been committed.

If it should still be maintained that *Māṇakū* was not and could not be the artist, Mr. Wright and Professor Basham would reply that the word *citrakartrā* would then have no sense. It is redundant, unnecessary, tautological—as if our lady poet had naively said 'got a picture book painted by a painter.' But if a picture book is prepared, who but a painter would prepare it?

The verse then can have one of only three meanings. Taking *Mālinī* as the name of the metre, it means "In the Vikrama year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages (i.e. 1787 or A.D. 1730) a lady who was revered by the virtuous, was skilled in *Mālinī* metre and was devoted to the Unborn (i.e. Vishṇu) had this picture (-book) of the *Gīta Govinda*, graced with charming calligraphy, made by the (male) painter *Māṇakū*."

Taking *Mālinī* to be a proper name, it means "In the Vikrama year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages (i.e. 1787 or A.D. 1730) the lady *Mālinī*, who was famed for her good conduct, who was revered by the virtuous, and was devoted to the Unborn (i.e. Vishṇu) had this picture (-book) of the *Gīta Govinda*, graced with charming calligraphy, made by the male painter *Māṇakū*."

Taking *Mālinī(-)vṛttavittā* as a pun with two senses, it means, "In the Vikrama year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages (i.e. 1787 or A.D. 1730) the lady *Mālinī* who was famed for her good conduct and was skilled in the *Mālinī* metre, who was revered by the virtuous and was devoted to the Unborn (i.e. Vishṇu) had this picture (-book) of the *Gīta Govinda*, graced with charming calligraphy, made by the male painter, *Māṇakū*."

Three variations are possible but in each case the patron is a lady and the artist the male painter *Māṇakū*.

III

The first writer to discuss this all-important verse was N. C. Mehta. Writing in 1926 in *Studies in Indian Painting*, he said, "I came across the name of *Māṇakū* while examining an album of paintings lent to me by His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri. The painter introduces himself in a Sanskrit verse written at the top of rather an inferior painting depicting Kṛishṇa and Rādhā sitting on a balcony."...."The meaning of the verse is not altogether clear. The sense of it is that in Vikram Samvat 1887 (=1830 A.D.) *Aja-Bhaktā* (literally meaning a devotee of Vishṇu, the immortal)—the florist, famous for her character and celebrated for her accomplishments got the painter *Māṇakū* to 'compose' the illustrated '*Gīta-Govinda*'—varied and elegant in style. It is not possible to say definitely whether *Aja-Bhaktā* is a proper name or not. What is however plain is that the artist was inspired by a lady of distinction to 'compose' as he calls it, his pictorial version of Jaideva's celebrated masterpiece. If a conjecture be allowed, I should think that the lady referred to in the verse given above is probably some royal benefactress of the house of Tehri, and in that case it is possible that the word '*Mālinī*' may refer to a place-name in Garhwal. I should also mention here that the word 'giri' sometimes means seven; though there cannot be the least doubt about the word to mean the numeral 'eight' in the present case. The use of the word '*Mālinī*' which is the name of a well-known Sanskrit metre, in which the present verse is composed, is responsible for producing what is called in Sanskrit poetics *Mudrā-alaṅkār*."[6]

In this passage, Mehta reveals some of his characteristic failings. As those who knew and loved him, realised, he delighted in Hindi and Sanskrit poetry and brought the most refined sensibility to bear on Indian painting. To look at pictures with him was to extract their very maximum charm. His spoken English was a joy to hear and his English writing had a limpid clarity and a flair for vivid phrasing which put him in the forefront of Indian art critics. Yet, perhaps because of these very qualities, he was bored by historical detail, weak on facts, careless and impatient.

And it is these traits which appear in the present passage. Mehta misinterprets the date, does not see that *Mālinī* might be a proper name and is uncertain whether *Aja-Bhaktā* is a proper name or not. He does not realise that 'a lady of distinction' can hardly be 'a florist' and connects 'varied and elegant in style' not with script but with pictures. But, for the rest, his instinct is correct. Although his date is wrong by a century, he rightly concludes that the patron—the subject of the sentence—is a lady and the painter is an artist named *Māṇakū*.

Some years later, he saw the second *Gīta Govinda*, the Basohli series, in the Lahore Museum. Like the Kangra series at Tehri, it contained the same inscription written in gold letters on the face of the opening picture. He realised that this Basohli series must be the original one and that 1730 must be its true date. He reported his discovery in *The Illustrated Weekly of India* in 1938 and, confronted by the presence of exactly the same verse on the Kangra *Gīta Govinda*, he suggested that it might have been given by some later artist as a mark of honour to the first.

If Mehta had stopped here, all might yet have been well. His rendering, it is true, was

[6] N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), pp. 49 and 50.

somewhat loose but in all essentials it was right. Unfortunately he changed his mind. For no clear reason, he gave up his first translation and came out with a new rendering. He now took the view that *Māṇakū* was still the artist but instead of being a man, he made her a woman. "*Māṇakū*," he is reported as saying,[7] "was a female artist who described herself in the inscription as an accomplished painter, devoted to Vishṇu and as having illustrated the *Gīta Govinda* with lovely pictures in 1730 A.D." He had, in other words, made the undeclined *Māṇakū* the subject of the sentence and since the attributes qualifying the subject were feminine, had turned him into a woman.

Such a rendering could not stand, but for a while, Mehta did not see this. Indeed, seven years later, he was still repeating it. Writing in 1945 in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, he said:

"There is a magnificent version of the *Gīta Govinda* with the Tehri Darbar, examples of which were reproduced in my book *Studies in Indian Painting*. Another very remarkable version is the one painted by *Māṇakū* in the Basohli style and exhibited in the Lahore Museum. This particular version has raised several intriguing questions. The authorship of the paintings is claimed by *Māṇakū*, a woman painter, who claims to have reproduced the illustrated edition in the year 1787 Samvat or 1730 A.D. The verse is illuminated in gold and forms an integral part of the opening picture of the *Gīta Govinda*. It is a pity that the beautiful pictures of *Māṇakū* have not yet been adequately reproduced or won a widespread popularity, as they deserve."[8]

Mehta's lament has since been partially rectified by Dr. Randhawa's magnificent *Basohli Painting* where pictures from this wonderful series are reproduced in colour. His own confident assertion, on the other hand, has had woeful results. Indeed, as we trace the course of later discussions and notice muddle after muddle emerging, we can only term his new interpretation a 'Himalayan blunder'.

The first reaction was soon to come. Seizing on Mehta's suggestion that *Māṇakū* might be a woman, Karl Khandalavala leapt into the fray. Not over-learned in Sanskrit himself, he approached P. V. Kane, ex-Vice Chancellor, Bombay University. Kane readily opined that *Māṇakū* must indeed be a woman but held that she was not a painter but a patroness. This view Khandalavala adopted and in a review of Basil Gray's *Rajput Painting* he said:

"The Basohli series dated 1730 A.D. is not painted by *Māṇakū*. Mr. N. C. Mehta who wrote about this series had misinterpreted the inscription. So eminent a Sanskritist as Mahamahopadhyaya Kane who once read the inscription at the request of the reviewer is clear that the series was painted by a male painter (and not a female painter as N. C. Mehta thought) and that *Māṇakū* was his patroness and herself apparently a high-born lady who wrote elegant verse in the *Mālinī* metre."[9]

Such remarks could hardly pass unnoticed and Mehta, who had meanwhile realised that his sudden change of mind could not be defended, hastened to recant. Writing in 1949, he restated

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7 K. Khandalavala, *Pahāri Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 83 and 84.
8 N. C. Mehta, 'A New Document of Gujarati Painting', *J.I.S.O.A.*, XIII (1945), p. 39.
9 K. Khandalavala, *Mārg*, III (1948-49), No. 2, p. 54.

his position.[10] He ignored for the moment the Kangra *Gīta Govinda*, and taking his stand on the Basohli inscription, he wrote, "I had a considerable amount of discussion with the late Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal about the exact meaning of this simple verse, but despite its grammatical simplicity, there were some features which gave rise to a certain amount of difficulty. The literal meaning of the verse is as follows:

"In the year 1787 V.S. — 1730 A.D. *Mālinī*, noted for her qualities of discrimination and judgment and who prized her character as her principal wealth, who was a devotee of the Immortal One (Vishṇu) had a pictorial version of *Gīta Govinda* in beautiful and varied script composed by the painter *Māṇakū*."

He added,

"There is no doubt that the patron was some distinguished lady — a worshipper of Vishṇu, and of spotless character. Considering, however, that *Māṇakū* is a common and somewhat plebeian name both for males and females in the hills, it would be more appropriate to consider *Mālinī* — some exceptionally talented princess of the Royal House of Basohli — as the patron of *Māṇakū* — the painter."

He concluded,

"It was an error on my part to have amended the language of the verse and interpreted it as if the name of the painter with all the attributes given in the first attribution above was *Māṇakū* — a woman. It is true that *Māṇakū* is a name both of men and women. But considering all the circumstances as well as the simple literary interpretation as given above, I think it may be accepted that *Māṇakū* was the name of the painter and that his patron was some lady of the princely house of Basohli. It should also be added that the date given in the verse, namely, 1730 A.D. must be accepted as the authentic date of the composition of the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* and it is more likely that the date of a good many Kangra pictures must be pushed back 30 to 50 years."

Such a discussion is full of good sense. It is true that Mehta repeats once more the fatal error that '*Māṇakū* is a common name both for males and females in the hills.' He also interprets *guṇigaṇitagariṣṭhā* as 'noted for her qualities of discrimination and judgment' (as against 'one who was revered by the virtuous'). Yet, apart from this, his version is once again largely right. We are back to the lady *Mālinī* as the patron and to *Māṇakū* (the male) as the artist. Common sense had once again shone a fitful gleam.

Yet even now Mehta could not leave well alone. Was he harried by some inner doubts? Was he too unsure of his own Sanskrit? Was Jayaswal's sterling advice not enough? Had Khandalavala's tactics unnerved him? We shall never know. All that is clear is that after improving on his first interpretation — a version that was largely right — after supporting it with cogent reasons, after describing his new version — the version backed by Jayaswal — as seeming 'to be the simple, straightforward, interpretation of the verse,' he added, 'But it is not free from difficulty. The language of the verse would permit of another interpretation, viz. that "*Māṇakū* had the *Gīta Govinda*

[10] N. C. Mehta, 'Manaku, the Pahari Painter', *Roopa-Lekhā*, XXI (1949-50), No. 1, pp. 34-36.

illustrated by a painter and that *Māṇakū* had all the qualifications mentioned in the verse with the additional one of having been an expert in the use of Sanskrit metre — *Mālinī* — in which the verse given above has been composed."

Mehta did not say how or why the verse could permit of this interpretation, or how *Māṇakū* could once again become the feminine subject of the verb. Obviously he did not favour this interpretation but neither did he forcibly counter or demolish it. It was as if the heart had gone out of him. He had no longer any will to fight back. He simply asked, 'Does it matter?' "As we have no information whatsoever about *Mālinī* or *Māṇakū* except the names, it matters little whether the patron of this pictorial edition of *Gīta Govinda* was one or the other."

Such an attitude of bland indifference is understandable; but will it do? It may be that in Mehta's day the chances of successfully tracing particular Pahari patrons or patronesses may have seemed slight. It may be that with the utter dearth of inscribed pictures the chances of discovering Pahari artists, their names and careers may also have seemed very dim. Yet at least one picture in the Tehri collection was already known to bear the name 'Māṇak'. It was written in ink on the back of the famous picture 'Blind Man's Buff', a picture which Mehta himself had reproduced in *Studies in Indian Painting*.[11] Mehta had also assumed that this same Māṇak was the Māṇak of the Kangra *Gīta Govinda*. Had he forgotten these implications? He could not have foreseen that a new and vigorous investigator of painting in the Punjab Hills, Dr. M. S. Randhawa, would soon be arriving on the scene and that as a result of his energetic enquiries a host of Pahari artists, their genealogies and careers would be elicited from oral tradition. Even the names of Pahari princesses might sooner or later come to light. Linked to courtly records and family traditions, how could the names of a patroness and an artist matter little? The merest fact — if it is a fact — can help us to reconstruct the history of Kangra painting. Mehta knew all this but loving pictures rather than inscriptions, enjoying nothing more than to savour them on his broad verandah as the wind came gently off the sea, he wearily dismissed the issue as of no account. He had done his best to unravel the inscription. Others might stubbornly fail to see the point. Let them have their own way. Sooner or later intelligence and common sense would prevail. For the moment, did it matter?

Such vacillation was bound to have repercussions and a year later, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Director General of Archaeology, New Delhi, made his contribution. He was a well-known epigraphist, but he was unaccustomed to painting. We need not be surprised therefore that he did no better than Kane. Writing in *Roopa-Lekhā* in 1951, he briskly put Mehta in his place:[12]

"As Mr. Mehta observes, the verse is written in simple Sanskrit and I do not see where the difficulty in interpretation lies. The meaning is clear and the verse can admit of only one interpretation. I translate it as follows:

"In the Vikrama year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages

11 N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, pl. 21, p. 54.

12 N. P. Chakravarti, 'Was Manaku a Pahari Painter?', *Roopa-Lekhā*, XXII (1951), No. 1, pp. 17-21.

(i.e. V.S. 1787 — A.D. 1730), *Māṇakū* who is eminent (through possessing) a multitude of virtues, who is an expert in the *Mālinī* metre and who is devoted to Vishṇu, had the painting of *Gīta Govinda* produced decorated with beautiful writing."

"*Mālinī-vṛitta-vittā,*" he points out, "may also mean, 'who knew the conduct of a female florist.' But the other epithets of the lady would show that she must have occupied a far superior position in life and as the verse is actually in *Mālinī* metre, this interpretation would obviously be out of place.

"*Aja*, literally unborn, may refer to Vishṇu, Śiva or Brahmā. Since *Gītagovinda* is a Vaishṇava work, I have taken the word in the sense of Vishṇu."

Dr. Chakravarti then proceeds, "All the epithets in the second and third quarters of the verse are in feminine gender and Mr. Mehta takes them all to refer to *Mālinī* which he takes as a proper name. According to him she was the patron of the painter *Māṇakū*. This interpretation is not, however, admissible as the verse stands. *Mālinī* cannot be taken as a proper name and separated from *vṛitta-vittā* as the latter expression by itself would not give any sense whatsoever. The whole compound *Mālinī-vṛitta-vittā* should therefore be taken together and the epithets, therefore, must refer to *Māṇakū* who was obviously the patron of the artist whose name has not been mentioned in the verse. Credit is given to her only for the composition of the verse. It is not unlikely that the verse itself might have been composed by an unnamed poet under the patronage of this lady, although the credit of authorship has been given to her, a practice not altogether unknown in Indian literature. There is, however, nothing in the verse to disclose her identity, though it is obvious that she was a lady of some position and education. *Māṇakū* is certainly the name of a woman here and my enquiry from several people coming from Kangra shows that this name is not uncommon among women in that region. Besides the very fact that the name ends in long *ū* shows that it was meant to be the name of a woman. Of course, according to strict rules of Sanskrit grammar, the verse should have read *Māṇakūś-chitrakartrā*, but obviously the poet has used only the name as it was without going into the details of grammar."

This opinion is little short of astounding for hardly one of Dr. Chakravarti's confident assertions can withstand examination. It is not true, other Sanskritists insist, that *Mālinī* cannot be taken 'as a proper name and separated from *vṛitta-vittā* as without it the latter expression would have no sense.' *Mālinī* can, in fact, be taken as a proper name and the phrase, if separated, can mean 'famed for good conduct'. It is not true that the epithets must refer to *Māṇakū* and to *Māṇakū* alone. All are feminine and in the absence of a clearly named person they must qualify the feminine subject of the verb. It is not at all obvious that *Māṇakū* is the patron of the artist, neither is it in the least self-evident that the artist's name is not mentioned in the verse. As to *Māṇakū* certainly being the name of a woman here, how was Dr. Chakravarti to know? Who were the 'several people coming from Kangra' who informed him? Why should the long *ū* necessarily make it female? Finally, we must ask a plain question: Is the verse in grammatical Sanskrit or is it not? The lady subject of the verb is 'skilled in the *Mālinī* metre'. Can we really believe that she did not 'go into details of grammar'? Dr. Chakravarti says that 'according to strict rules of Sanskrit grammar the

verse should have read *māṇakūś-chitrakartrā.*' But that is exactly what it does *not* read. Faced by this fact, how can he, none the less, maintain that *Māṇakū* is not the artist but a lady patron?

To Chakravarti's article, Mehta gave no reasoned answer. He may well have become tired of the whole question. Watching one Sanskritist after another flounder in the morass, he may even have despaired of getting any real sense out of 'eminent authorities'. He contented himself therefore with merely stressing that *Māṇak* (or *Māṇakū*) was well known in Tehri as a male artist's name and that Chakravarti's interpretation could certainly not be said to have put an end to the controversy regarding *Māṇakū*.[13]

This was in 1951 and for seven years the issue lay dormant. Chakravarti had seemingly administered the *coup de grâce*. Khandalavala, after citing Kane, had been ominously silent. In 1958, however, he roused himself like Śiva from his trance. Imbedded in his gigantic *Pahāri Miniature Painting* appeared a re-assessment of the inscription.[14] He there explained how he had always doubted Mehta's original translation and after himself photographing the inscription on the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* had submitted it to Kane. Kane had translated the verse for him as follows:

"In the Vikram year 1787—1730 A.D. *Māṇakū* who was a (female) devotee of the unborn (i.e. of God), who was famous (in the composition) of verses in the *Mālinī* metre, who is very much honoured in the estimation of those possessed of qualities, made a (male) painter compose (this) picture relating to the Gīta Govinda diversified with a delicate letterpress (writing)."

Not content with Kane, Khandalavala asked five other Sanskrit-knowing scholars to examine the translation and all assured him that it was correct. He then observed, "In face of the opinions expressed by the galaxy of eminent Sanskrit scholars above mentioned, Mr. Mehta's interpretation, which affirms *Māṇakū* to be the painter of the series, cannot be accepted."

But arithmetic is not enough. 'Authorities' may be eminent but they can also be fallible. A view is valueless unless it is firmly supported by valid argument. And when we examine the arguments attributed by Khandalavala to Kane, how can we deem them adequate?

Kane, Khandalavala asserts, 'stated that *Māṇakū* was certainly a woman because of three adjectives in the feminine gender.' The epithets are certainly feminine but there is nothing in the verse to show that they necessarily apply to *Māṇakū*.

He next says, "All the eminent authorities who read the inscription opined that if the name *Māṇakū* was to be regarded as that of the male painter and if his female patron was to be regarded as unnamed in the inscription, then one would have to go to the length of saying that the person who composed the verse was very deficient in his or her knowledge of Sanskrit, and used a most awkward and unusual compound *Māṇakū-chitrakartrā*. But in every respect the verse is in good grammatical Sanskrit, and is well composed in the *Mālinī* metre, which is a form of Sanskrit poetry. It is too far fetched a suggestion that a person who could compose efficient Sanskrit verse would use the awkward compound *māṇakū-chitrakartrā* if he desired to say that the name of the painter was *Māṇakū*."

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[13] N. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (Editorial Note).
[14] K. Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

Yet how exactly is this compound awkward and how in fact can it be bettered?

Finally he argues, "Moreover, all these authorities are agreed that it is unlikely in the extreme that the lady in whose honour the verse was written should be unnamed therein, and that the name of the painter whom she commissioned should be mentioned."

Even to this objection there are very simple answers. In the first place, taking *Mālinī* to be a proper name, the lady is named. Taking *mālinī* to be the name of a metre, her name of '*Mālinī*' is still hinted at. Taking her name to be totally omitted, her qualities are fully given and thus her identity is obliquely revealed. Do we really need to have more than that?

Two years later, Khandalavala gave out that since Kane's 'authoritative and reasoned interpretation' there was 'no scope left for controversy.'[15] Yet even the straightest case is not always closed. Not every decision is correct. People have sometimes been wrongly hanged. By dint of sheer vehemence, Khandalavala shouted Mehta down. Mehta himself died in 1959, but had he lived, it is doubtful if he would have said much more. He valued good painting and good writing too much to waste his time in dreary polemics. It is only gradually that one learns to distrust 'authorities', only gradually that one realises that linguistic experts are sometimes fallible, only gradually that one accepts Dr. Johnson's dictum, 'The law is an ass.' Thanks to Khandalavala, that enigmatic figure, 'the lady *Māṇakū*' has floated through all recent books on Indian painting, adorning my own *Loves of Kṛishṇa* with her fragrant presence, securing a glancing tribute in *Garhwal Painting*, earning a short reference in my *Indian Miniatures*, winning Dr. Moti Chandra's devoted allegiance.[16] How greatly shall we miss this talented 'lady'!

For missed she will be. Like Khandalavala who had early doubted the correctness of Mehta's first reading, Dr. M. S. Randhawa had soon begun to doubt the correctness of Khandalavala's reading. In Kangra parlance, *Māṇak* and *Māṇakū* were male names. *Māṇako* was female. How, then, could *Māṇakū* be a lady? There was something badly wrong with Khandalavala's whole thesis. It did not square with life in the Punjab Hills. It did not make sense. He was also struck by the conjunction of *Māṇakū* with *citrakartrā*. Who ever would put *citrakartrā* after *Māṇakū* unless *Māṇakū* was a painter? Who would include *citrakartrā* at all unless that *citrakartrā's* name was also given? Like Mehta, he knew of artists named *Māṇak*, but all these artists were men. He therefore proposed a new translation of the verse, making *Māṇakū* the male subject and attributing to him all three feminine attributes. "*Māṇakū*, the painter," he said, "who is eminent through possessing a number of virtues, who is expert in *Mālinī* metre, who is a devotee of Vishṇu and is characterised by delicate brush painted the *Gīta Govinda*."[17] This version, as Khandalavala was quick to point out, was 'singularly unfortunate.'[18] Indeed it was only too

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[15] K. Khandalavala, *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8 (1960), p. 81.

[16] N. C. Mehta and Moti Chandra, *The Golden Flute* (New Delhi, 1962): comments (by Dr. Moti Chandra) to Plate 8 — Basohli *Gīta Govinda* — and Plate 9 — Kangra *Gīta Govinda*. The presence of Mehta's name on the title page should not be taken to imply any posthumous recantation by him. He was already dead when Dr. Moti Chandra wrote these notes.

[17] M. S. Randhawa, *Basohli Painting*, p. 34.

[18] K. Khandalavala, *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8 (1960), p. 81.

obvious that like so many art historians before him, Randhawa had been failed by his linguist friends. He was not, however, daunted by this set-back and realising that another more robust attempt must now be made, he decided to consult Dr. Raghu Vira, a Sanskrit scholar in every way high-powered and conscientious. Dr. Raghu Vira went over the verse once again and although his report, as given in Dr. Randhawa's text, does not deal with the verse as a whole but only with the second half, his conclusion banishes the 'lady' *Māṇakū* yet again. This finding, as is clear from the independent comments of Professor Basham, Mr. Wright and Mr. Coulson, is the only one that really fits the Sanskrit. The patroness was a lady. The artist was the male painter *Māṇakū*.

IV

How then did the Kangra *Gita Govinda* acquire its 'Basohli' inscription? In what circumstances may it have been given? What inferences can we draw?

In order that the Kangra *Gīta Govinda* should have the same inscription as the Basohli series, the latter would need to be at hand. We can hardly believe that a Kangra artist travelled to Basohli, examined the Basohli series, altered the idioms, came back and then produced the Kangra version. This would assume that the Basohli series was so renowned that artists travelled far to see it. It is certainly true that the series is of high quality but hardly so super-excellent to warrant quite such lavish homage. For similar reasons, a Kangra scribe is unlikely to have gone to Basohli merely in order to copy the requisite verses.

Fortunately a more modest thesis can be proposed. Although painting may have existed in other states at the end of the seventeenth century, by far the greatest centre of painting was Basohli. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Basohli style spread to other states — to Mankot, Jammu, Nurpur, Kulu, Chamba and Guler. From 1730 onwards, Basohli painting slackened and Guler painting took its place. The original Guler style was an offshoot from Basohli but the arrival of a family of artists trained in the Mughal style of Muhammad Shāh modified its ardent distortions and infused them with softer grace. Basohli pictures and Basohli painters must have been at Guler from at least 1710 onwards for on no other hypothesis can the Guler style be explained. We know, however, that at this time relations between the Guler and Basohli courts were unusually close. Rājā Medinī Pāl (1703–36) of Basohli had married a Guler lady. Rājā Govardhan Chand of Guler (1744–73) married a Basohli princess. It was not unusual for a painter to be included in a bride's entourage when she went to join her husband. There is even a specific reference to a Basohli artist accompanying a Basohli princess on her marriage at Chamba. Songs of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa were often sung at weddings as injunctions to the bridal pair. They were invited to 'love like Rādhā and Kṛishṇa'. Is it not probable then that the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* was commissioned by some pious lady of the Basohli royal house as a wedding gift to 'Balauria Rani', the Basohli princess who married Govardhan Chand? It would sanctify her nuptials. It would grace the wedding chamber. It would delight her spouse, the picture-minded Govardhan Chand. Above all, it would remain not at Basohli where it was executed but travel with its young owner to Guler. At Guler it would join other pictures in the royal collection. It would be inspected

by local Guler artists. It would serve as a source of inspiration. When, much later, the Kangra *Gīta Govinda* came to be executed, the Basohli series would be almost on the spot. Guler was less than forty miles from the great Kangra fort. Reference to it would be both easy and natural. In such circumstances, it might be argued, the identical inscription was simply due to a scribe's error. When the Kangra series was completed, verses explaining each picture would need to be written either on the back of the picture itself or on the picture immediately preceding it. The obvious course would be to copy them from an existing series and the great Basohli set, already at Guler, would be the one most ready to hand. Required to copy what was written, the scribe did what he was told, failed to notice that the inscription was obsolete and wrote it exactly as it was. The same inscription was not intentionally added. It was included by accident.

Such a view is refreshingly simple. But does it really warrant credence? The verse appears on the first page of the series. The series itself is one of the finest examples of Kangra painting. If it was truly a scribe's unwitting blunder, would patron and artist have allowed it to remain? A dull but conscientious scribe is one thing; an unintelligent patron, an insensitive artist another. So far as we know, nowhere else does such a coincidence occur. Can we really believe that it was a meaningless mistake, a simple accident? In the Kangra series, the lettering is gracefully integrated with the picture, as if its insertion was fully intended. Puzzling though the coincidence may seem, some less simple theory is surely necessary if we are to fathom its mystery.

An intriguing possibility exists. The artists, whose influence at Guler helped to transform the early Basohli style, were originally Kashmiri Brahmins. The head of the family, Pandit Seu, had two sons. The younger was named Nainsukh, the elder Māṇak. At one time, it was thought that Pandit Seu had first settled at Jasrota, a small state forty miles east of Jammu, twenty miles west of Basohli and fifty miles northwest of Guler. It now appears that this was a mistake. A picture of Rājā Balwant Singh of Jammu at a Music-party, inscribed and dated 1748, has the sentence *tān eh tasvīr Nensukhe Jasrote līkhī thī.*[19] The word *Jasrote* was hitherto mis-read as *Jasrotie* and the sentence was translated 'Then this picture was painted by Nainsukh *of Jasrota.*'[20] Dr. B. N. Goswamy has now shown that this is wrong. He points out that not only would it be very unlikely for a Kashmiri Brahmin to have a Rajput clan-name — which is what *Jasrotie* would presuppose — but that the actual word *Jasrote* does not mean '*of Jasrota*' but '*at Jasrota*'. The

[19] Reproduced W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952), Fig. 35. The full inscription, plainly visible on the reproduction, is read by Dr. B. N. Goswamy as follows: *Sammat Vīkramājītī athārā sau panj thā. Jeth mahīnā thā. Tīhne dine ehe tasvīr līkhī. Tīhne dine umar varahā chauvī thī srī mahārāje srī Balvant Singh jī dī. Tān eh tasvīr Nensukhe Jasrote līkhī thī. Tīhne dine Mīr Mannū Lahaur āyā thā Pathān par larāī phate pāī ke. Torī māno hār ālī rī ab nā māno.* Translation: 'It was Vikrami samvat eighteen hundred and five. It was the month of Jeth. On that day this picture was painted. On that day the age of Sri Maharaja Sri Balwant Singh was twenty-four years. Then this picture Nainsukh had painted at Jasrota. On that day Mir Mannu had come to Lahore after his victory over the Pathans in battle. (Song) You have lost, my (lady) friend, now do not admit it.' The picture, it will be remembered, shows Balwant Singh listening to a party of musicians, four of whom are women. Each is steadily gazing at him. *Tihne (dine)* does not mean 'thirtieth' 'third' or 'three' but 'on that (day)'. The last sentence of the inscription is perhaps intended to recall the song sung on the occasion.

[20] For previous misinterpretations and mis-readings, see Basil Gray, 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950), 130 [catalogue entry no. 543 (646)]; W. G. Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 90 and 91; Karl Khandalavala, 'Balvant Singh, a Patron of Pahari Painting', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52, No. 2; Karl Khandalavala, *Pahāri Miniature Painting*, pp. 118-120.

inscription, in fact, tells us where the picture happened to be painted, not where the artist's home was. There can be no doubt that this new reading is right and hence the theory that Jasrota was where Pandit Seu first settled must be abandoned. Jasrota, it must be admitted, had always seemed a somewhat odd choice. No actual pictures are known to have come from it and while a certain Jasrota nobleman, Mian Mukand Dev, is featured in several Pahari pictures, all of these can be connected in style with other centres of painting such as Basohli, Jammu and even Guler. It is significant, moreover, that while questioning a living descendant of Pandit Seu about the family history, Dr. Randhawa heard no mention of Jasrota but was assured that Seu had originally settled in Guler about 1720–30.[21] The result of Dr. Goswamy's new reading then is that this long-standing mystery has, at last, been cleared up and we can now regard Guler as the first home of this artist family.

If Pandit Seu worked at Guler under Rājā Dalip Singh (1695–1744), Nainsukh seems to have worked first at Guler, then at Jammu and again at Guler. We do not know his dates but they might well be *circa* 1720 to *circa* 1790. At Jammu his patron was Rājā Balwant Singh and at the time when his picture was painted at Jasrota by Nainsukh in 1748, he was twenty-four years old. Two years previously Nainsukh had painted a standing portrait of him which also bears a significant inscription.[22] These two pictures are the only ones which have so far come to light bearing Nainsukh's name but from others in the same style we can reasonably infer that he must have been with Balwant Singh for at least ten to fifteen years. We do not know when their association ended but by 1760 Nainsukh and his sons were almost certainly developing the great Guler style at Guler under their patron, Rājā Govardhan Chand (1744–73). And it was out of this style that Kangra painting was later to come.

But what of Māṇak? He was older than Nainsukh and might well have been born in 1710 and lived until 1780 or 1790. If Nainsukh left Guler for Jammu, may not Māṇak have preceded him to Basohli? Both Dr. Randhawa and Karl Khandalavala have suggested that Māṇak and his son Khushala later resided first at Guler and then at Kangra.[23] Yet if Nainsukh later returned to Guler from Jammu, may not Māṇak, after learning the Basohli style, have returned to Guler also? What is more, seeing that a Māṇak executed our very Basohli *Gīta Govinda*, may it not have been this Māṇak, Nainsukh's elder brother, who painted it? And if indeed it was this same Māṇak, may he not have come to Guler with 'Balauria Rani' when she went to marry Govardhan Chand?

Such a theory presupposes a basic change in Māṇak's style after his move to Guler. Yet

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[21] M. S. Randhawa, 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 1-9.

[22] Reproduced Karl Khandalavala, *Pahāri Miniature Painting* (Study Supplement, Fig. 91). Dr. B. N. Goswamy reads the inscription as follows: *Srī mahārāje Balvant Singhjījī. Thīne dine ehe tasvīr līkhī hai tān sammat 3 varah dā thā. Mahīnā baisākh thā. Likhat Nensūkh.* Translation: 'Sri Mahārājā Balwant Singhjiji. On that day this picture was written then the samvat was gone three years. The month was Baisakh. Painted by Nainsukh.' Since Balwant Singh looks even younger in this picture than in the Music-party of 1748, the phrase 'the samvat was gone three years' must mean 'samvat 1803' or 1746 A.D.

[23] M. S. Randhawa, 'Manak, Painter of the Gīta Govinda Paintings', *Roopa-Lekhā*, XXXI (1960), No. 2, pp. 3-9; K. Khandalavala, *Pahāri Miniature Painting*, p. 186.

the change need not have been violent or sudden. Within thirty years his Basohli *Gīta Govinda* may have seemed as out of date as Cubism appears today. It represented one extreme of style which another extreme had superseded. Viewed as two extremes, no styles could seem more different. Certainly we cannot credit the same artist with practising both at one and the same time — a possibility which Rai Krishnadasa has, none the less, daringly proposed.[24] Yet, granted sufficient time, almost any transformation is possible. Between 1730 and 1770, a whole variety of experiments took place in Guler — experiments which finally ousted the old Basohli manner and precipitated that mode of gracious elegance which marks the Kangra *Gīta Govinda*. In this period, Māṇak must certainly have played a vital part. The fact that he had painted the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* would not in itself have prevented him from sloughing this old manner. We must rather assume that he collaborated with his brother, son and nephews in developing the new style.

When in 1775 the young Sansār Chand came to the Kangra throne, the time may well have come for this great artist family to divide. Nainsukh stayed at Guler, Māṇak and his son, Khushala, moved to Kangra. They took with them a style no longer obsolete but new and contemporary. Māṇak's reputation could easily have preceded him and if he was in fact the artist of 'Balauria Rani', the painter who forty-five years earlier had painted the Basohli *Gīta Govinda,* perhaps to sanctify her wedding, approaching nuptials may easily have suggested another series from the same great hand. 'The lady *Mālinī*', the lady who was devoted to Vishṇu, who was skilled in the *Mālinī* metre, who was revered by the virtuous, might no longer be living but her counterpart, Sansār Chand's mother, aunt or grandmother might still have directed operations from behind the palace walls. The role of ladies in the development of painting has yet to be studied and it may well prove that especially on ritual occasions, when large sets of unusual splendour were required, the ladies of the palace took a far from minor role. A Kangra painting reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rajput Painting* shows a lady questioning a painter as he sits painting a mural and far from reflecting a common menial occasion, it may depict a Kangra princess actively interesting herself in the work of the artist. In such circumstances the Kangra *Gīta Govinda* with its reference to 'the painter *Māṇakū*' need no longer surprise us. Māṇak might have produced in his old age a new and more contemporary version of the same great series with which as a young man he had made his name. He need not even have regarded it as new and separate. It might well have been a later version, a 'copy' rather than a fresh creation. The old inscription had described his first achievement. The same inscription would describe his last.

Yet having connected '*Māṇakū* the painter' with Māṇak, Nainsukh's brother, having associated him with each great series, does not one further question remain? Is every picture in the Kangra *Gīta Govinda* his and his alone? Did other artists collaborate? Should we regard the series as a collective enterprise or as a single artist's work? Was Māṇak the master-artist behind it rather than the sole executant of all the pictures? As we study these examples reproduced by Dr. Randhawa in this beautiful book, it is clear that while the general style is broadly the same, at least three, if

[24] Rai Krishnadasa, 'Manak, Painter of Gita Govinda Paintings', *Roopa-Lekhā*, XXXII (1961), No. 1, p. 73.

not four, different hands can be distinguished. Certain plates disclose a lush ornate richness of treatment in striking contrast to the ascetic sparseness of others. At least three different types of faces can be detected and even in height figures are at times abnormally tall and at others relatively short. Such differences of idiom do not necessarily imply different artists for so extensive a series would require at least some measure of variety. It is rather that side by side with different idioms go differences in line, colour, sensibility. May not some or even many of these pictures be by Khushala, Māṇak's son? May not others be by artists connected in some way with either Māṇak's family or his close circle? If Māṇak was indeed born about 1710, he would be seventy in 1780—an age when even a great artist could hardly complete so large a series unaided. Seen from this view-point the inscription acquires a new significance. By invoking the majestic name, it provides a pointer not to a set but to a whole career, not to a single artist but rather to his influence, not to Māṇak or Māṇakū the individual but rather to a whole movement. This began at Basohli, was continued at Guler and finally reached consummation in Kangra.

W. G. Archer

Victoria and Albert Museum,
London.

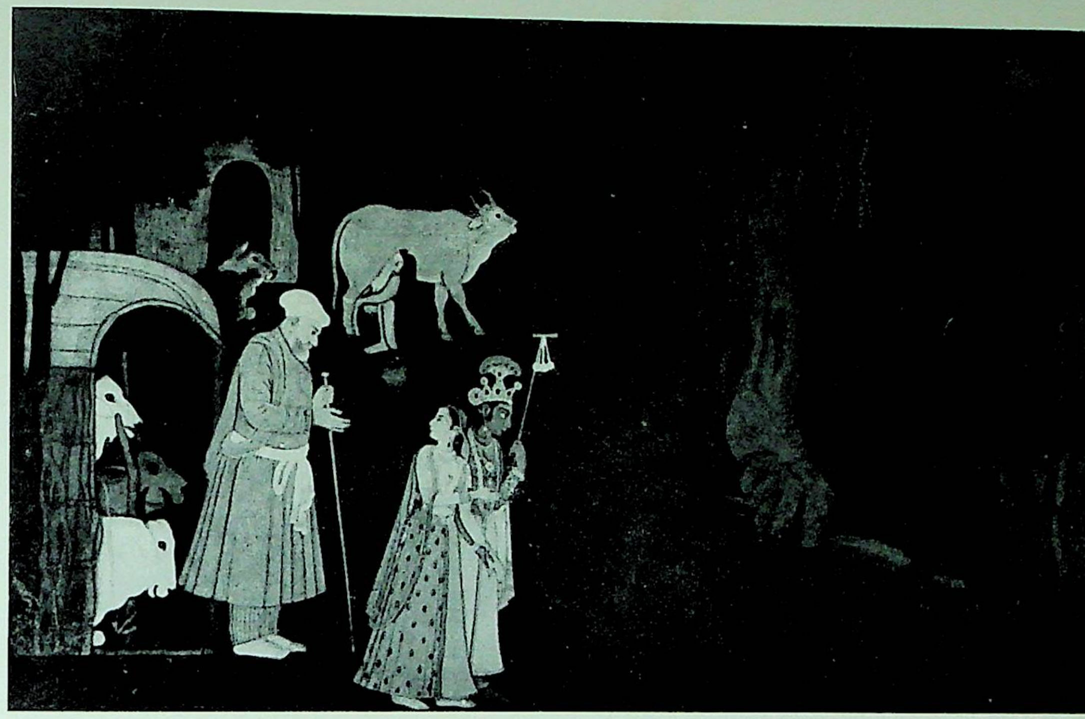


Fig. 1. 'The sky is overcast with dark clouds, the woodlands are black with tamāla trees. This boy Kṛishṇa is afraid of the gloom of the night. O Rādhā, take him home,' said Nanda.

CHAPTER I

ŚRĪ JAYADEVA'S GĪTA GOVINDA

Bengal has made a rich contribution to the cultural life of India and the world. It is the land of birth of the poets Jayadeva, Chaṇḍī Dās, and Tagore whose poetry, fragrant with the love of man and Nature, has delighted millions, and brought joy to many desiccated hearts. Saints and mystics, like Chaitanya, Rāmakṛishṇa, and Vivekānanda, who have enriched the spiritual life of India, were the products of the soil of Bengal. The religion of love which they preached has given solace to millions of people. Above all, Bengal is dedicated to ardent Kṛishṇa worship and some of the earliest Rādhā-Kṛishṇa songs were composed here. Love for Kṛishṇa is not only in the air, but also in the fields and forests; the blue-coloured flower that blooms the sweetest is called Kṛishṇa-*pada*, or the feet of Kṛishṇa, and the crown of scarlet flowers which adorns the *gul mohur* tree is called Kṛishṇa-*chūḍā*, or the crown of Kṛishṇa.

Geologically Bengal is one of the youngest States of India, and mostly comprises the delta of the Gaṅgā. The name Vaṅga by which its major part was known in the past means a marshy and moist land. The rivers Hooghly and Brahmaputra were the western and eastern boundaries of Vaṅga, on the north was Varendra, and to the south, the Bay of Bengal.

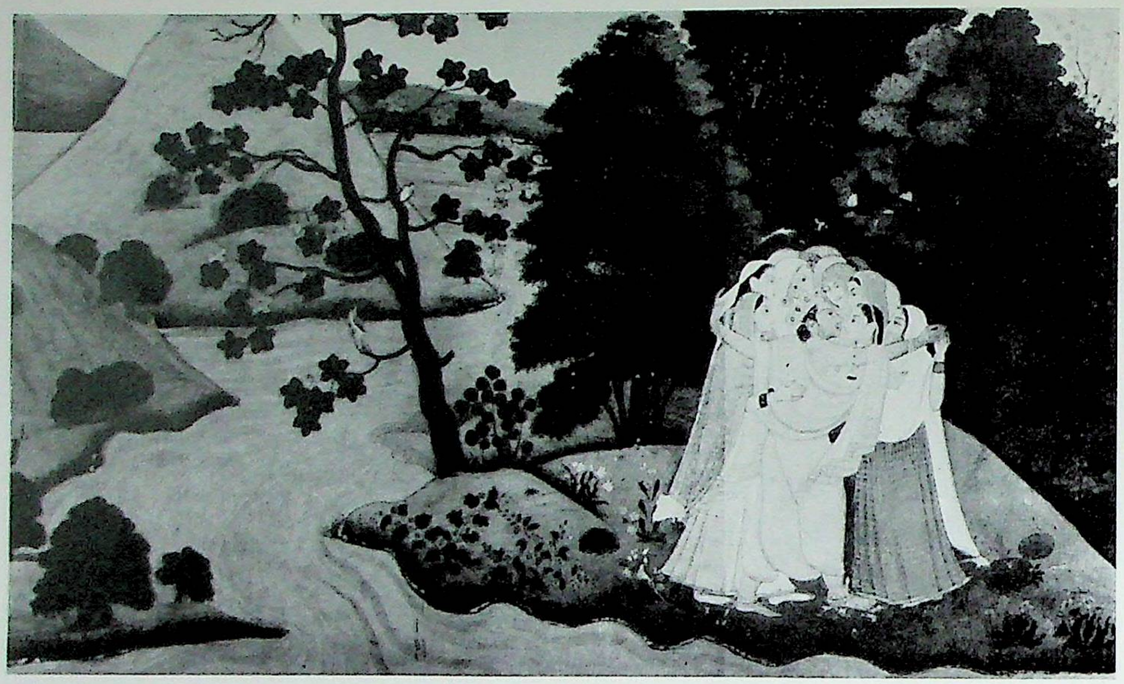


Fig. 2. Hari, full of joy, embraces thousands of young women in his long arms.

The countryside of Bengal is charming. It is loveliest in October when emerald-green paddy fields stretch for miles, dotted with clumps of palmyra palms. The ponds are decorated with lotuses with red petals and large green leaves. The humble, straw-roofed huts of the villagers are buried in clumps of plantains, bamboos, jacks and tamarinds. The mango groves resound with the love calls of the *koels* in the summer months. The stately forests of *śāla* trees, fresh and smiling even in the dry heat of summer, provide a happy contrast with the parched countryside. In the stillness of the night, when Nature sleeps, the music of the *kīrtana* fills the air. The chirping of cicadas, and the sound of the falling leaves mingle with the music of ringing bells, and fragrance of incense and flowers floats in the air. In East Bengal, life is amphibious, and canoes and boats ply the waterways in large numbers. In the evenings the air is resonant with the boatmen's songs. The darkness of the night is decorated with the flickering lights of fire-flies weaving aerial rhythms of fragile gold.

Risley describes the Bengali type 'as a blend of Dravidian and Mongolian elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups'. Emotional, sensitive, and temperamental, Bengalis are an artistic people, who have made a unique contribution to the culture of India. Their language is soft and musical, and can claim to be the richest of the regional languages of India. The romances of Mahuā, Maluā, and Mālañchamālā, rival in tenderness of feeling, sincerity, purity of love, and beauty of language, the love tales of Hīr and Rāñjhā, and Sohṇī and Mahīwāl from the Punjab. In their love of Nature, and vivid description of landscape, the

pearl-like *kunda* flowers exhaling fragrance, the stars adorning the dark night, and moonlight bathing the landscape in its silver, these romances diffuse a charm which is unique in the romantic literature of India.

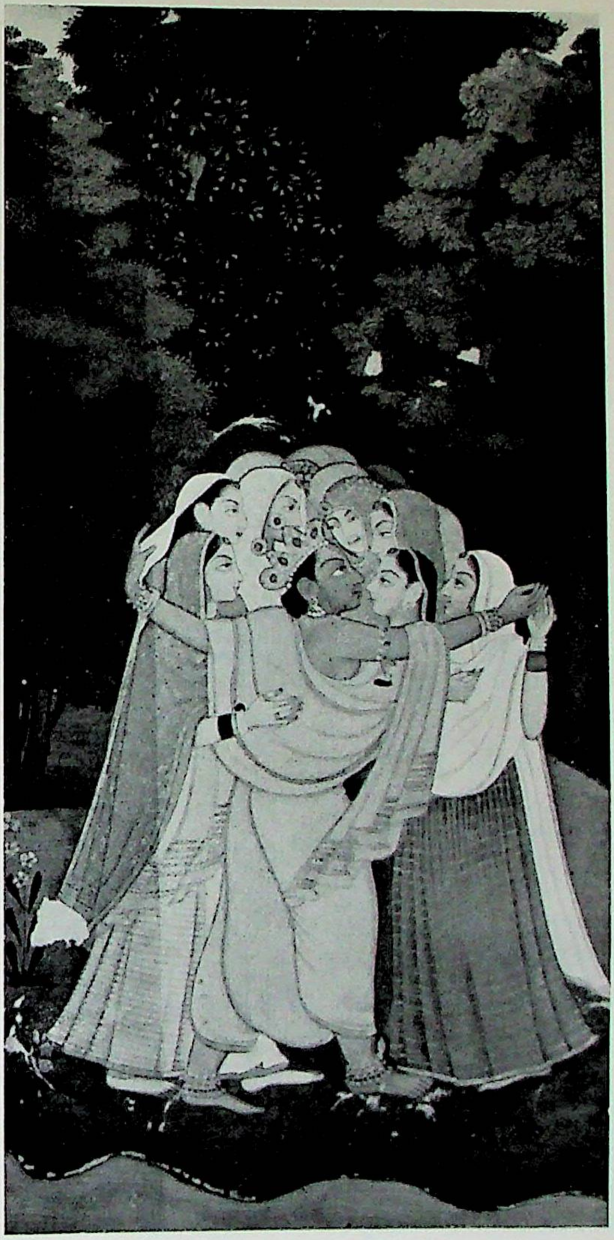


Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 2.

Perhaps it is the beauty of the Bengali woman, which is the fountain spring of the great literature of Bengal, her charming folk tales, the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva, and the entrancing music of the poems of Chaṇḍī Dās, and Vaishṇava saints and mystics like Govinda Dās and Narahari Sarkār. Her long, dark hair reaches her ankles, her eyes are soft and gentle, her complexion is golden, and her face like the moon. Her arms are like creepers, and her neck like a swan's. The sound of the anklets on her feet is like the humming of bees, and flowers bloom on the path she treads. It is the beautiful women of Bengal who provided the image of Rādhā to the poets and mystics of Bengal. Much more than in her physical charm, her beauty is in her submissive nature, loyalty, and dedicated love of her husband.

The early history of Bengal is somewhat obscure. The outline becomes clearer as we approach the eighth century, when the Pāla kings became the dominant power in eastern India. Dharmapāla (776–810),[1] one of the greatest kings of the Pāla dynasty, founded the Vikramaśilā monastery. During the reign of Devapāla (810–850) there was lively trade between Bengal and the islands of Java and Sumatra and it was a period of great commercial activity. Rāmapāla (1080–1123) built many temples and established the famous Buddhist monastery of Jagaddala. During the Pāla period, Buddhism was the dominant faith of the people of Bengal.



Fig. 4. Then he pursues one whose beauty has allured him most.

Unlike the poverty-stricken Bengal of today, the rural area was fairly prosperous, and magnificent mansions of merchant princes studded the high banks of the rivers and waterways. The rich people lived in comfort and luxury. We read of fine clothes made of cotton that looked transparent as dew, and lovely pieces of cloth, *meghāḍambara*, blue-tinted like a cloud, and *mayūrapekham*, with gorgeous rainbow colours of peacock plumes.

Buddhism was on the decline from the latter half of the tenth century. "The idea of a higher life inspired by a keen sense of morality and introspection, which was the dominant spirit of Buddhism, declined into scepticism and sensuality,"[2] observes Dineshchandra Sen. Mystic rituals of Vāmāchārī Tāntricism prevailed, and weakened the moral fabric of society. Under these conditions developed the *sahajiā*-cult, and its apostle was Kāṇu Bhaṭṭa, a Buddhist scholar, who lived at the close of the tenth century. In the Bengali love-songs of Kāṇu Bhaṭṭa, incorporated in his book called *Charyā-charya*, what was later known as *parakīyā* love or romantic love with a woman other than one's own wife is advocated. These love-songs are frank and sensuous and are permeated by a mystic spiritual feeling. Salvation was sought by a process of rituals in which young and beautiful women were loved and worshipped. The *sahajiā*-cult was based upon the idea that in sexual love there is a higher side which points to love divine.

The Hindu revival in Bengal came with the Sena kings, who originally belonged to Karṇāṭaka. Vijayasena (1097–1159) was the founder of the Sena dynasty in Bengal. He was



Fig. 5. 'Oh Rādhā, in this charming season of spring, which gives pain to separated lovers, young Hari sports with damsels,' said her confidante.

succeeded by Vallālasena (1159–1178) who is regarded as the founder of the institution of Kulinism. He had a mistress named Padminī, a very beautiful woman, whom he raised above the status of his chief queen. It is said that she was brought by the king to his palace to help him in his tāntric practices. Lakshmaṇasena (1178–1205), the patron of Jayadeva, was an ease-loving monarch, who was devoted to poetry and music, and it is said that he had liaisons with beautiful Kalinga women.

It is against this background of history and social conditions that Jayadeva's poem is to be viewed. The early period of Vaishṇava literature in Bengal begins with Rādhā-Kṛishṇa songs written in Prākṛit, followed by the poems of Umāpatidhara and Jayadeva. While the Buddhists aimed at achievement of spiritual bliss by extinction of passion, the Vaishṇavas believed that passion was a natural force, and that instead of being extinguished, it should be sublimated into *prema*, or divine love. Thus the emotions are transformed from the sensual to the spiritual, and human passions merge into the great sea of mystic love.

Jayadeva was born at the village of Kenduli, also called Kendu-bilva, in Bolpore Thana of the Suri sub-division of Birbhum District in West Bengal. His father's name was Bhojadeva and his mother's Rāmā.

An account of the life of Jayadeva is found in the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhādāsa, written about A.D. 1578. Very little is known about his early life. It is, however, certain that he acquired a good knowledge of Sanskrit literature very early. The author of the *Bhaktamāla* describes him

as an incarnation of melody. In his youth he was a wandering ascetic wedded to poverty, who roamed from place to place with a brass pot as his sole possession. He would not sleep under the same tree for two nights in succession lest he might become attached to it.

After sojourning in many holy places, this homeless wanderer reached Puri in Orissa, where a strange event happened which changed the course of his life. According to the author of the *Bhaktamāla*, a South Indian Brāhmaṇa by the name of Dev Sharmā lived at Bindu Bilva, a colony of Brāhmaṇas at Puri. Dev Sharmā was childless, and he prayed to Jagannath for offspring. As a result of many prayers and offerings, a daughter named Padmāvatī was born, and he brought her up with the object of dedicating her as a temple dancer to Jagannath. She grew up into a beautiful girl, and her father took her to the temple of Jagannath and offered her to the idol. In the following night Jagannath appeared to him in a dream and asked him to give her to his devotee, Jayadeva. After a good deal of persuasion, Jayadeva accepted her. Padmāvatī became deeply attached to him, and followed him like his shadow. Ultimately Jayadeva also became fond of her, and realised the futility of the tormented life of an ascetic.

Renouncing the life of an ascetic, Jayadeva built a hut for himself and his wife, and set up an image of Jagannath in it which they jointly worshipped. While she used to dance, he played the drum. Thus they lived together in happiness. Inspired by the beauty of Padmāvatī and with a heart full of joy, he started composing that exquisite woodland pastoral, the *Gīta Govinda*, the 'Song of Govinda', or the 'Song of the Cowherd'.

Fig. 6. The night now dresses in habiliments fit for secrecy of the damsels who hasten to their trysts.



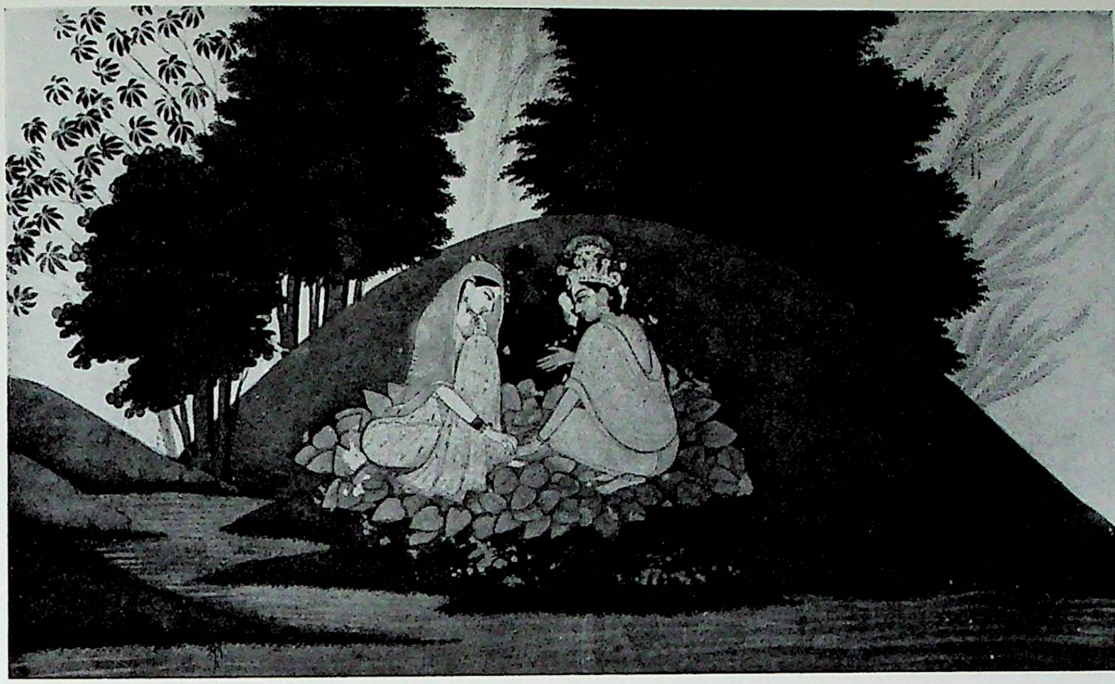


Fig. 7. 'Give short rapture, sweet Rādhā, to Nārāyaṇa, thy adorer.'

There are anecdotes and myths related about Jayadeva, and his poem, which indicate how it was honoured by the people, and in what esteem it was held; Kṛishṇa himself helped in the composition of the poem; he loved the poem so much that he left his sanctuary to follow a gardener's daughter who was singing it; he preferred it to the composition of a king; and it had even the power of reviving the dead.

According to one anecdote, when Jayadeva, while writing the *Gīta Govinda*, reached the tenth canto, he came to a passage in which Kṛishṇa, in order to appease Rādhā who was angry with him, asked her to place her foot on his head. When the poet reflected that it would be a sacrilege if any woman were to put her feet on the head of God, he felt very perturbed. Leaving the verse incomplete he went to bathe in the river. Kṛishṇa came to the rescue of his devotee, and assuming the form of Jayadeva went to his house, ate the food prepared by Padmāvatī for her husband, and then wrote out and completed the verse.

Smaragaralakhaṇḍanaṁ mama śirasi maṇḍanaṁ dhehi padapallavamudāram
Jvalati mayi dāruṇo madanakadanāruṇo haratu tadupāhitavikāram.

"Adorn my head by putting on it the tender leaves of thy feet, which are an antidote to the poison of Kāma."

Padmāvatī, as was her usual custom, then ate the food which was left in the *thālī*. When he returned, Jayadeva was astonished to find his wife eating before him, for as a loyal and devoted Hindu wife, she never ate before her husband. Padmāvatī was also astonished to find her husband

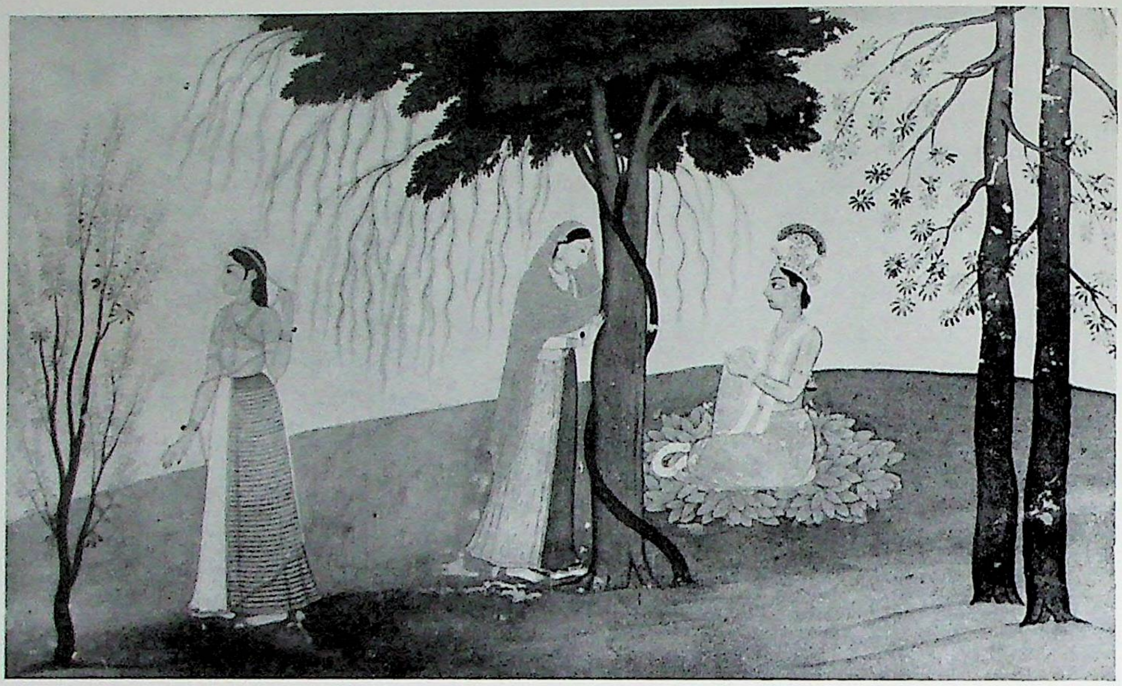


Fig. 8. There she beheld her Mādhava, who delighted in her alone.

returning a second time after bathing. She told him what had happened. Then they both went to look at the poem which Jayadeva had left incomplete and found that the verse which he had in mind, but which he dared not write, had been written in the proper place. Thus they were convinced that Kṛishṇa himself had come and written the verse in order to relieve Jayadeva of his difficulty. The fame of the event spread far and wide, and Jayadeva's poem became very popular, for God Himself had hallowed the composition.

Gajapati Purushottama-deva, king of Orissa, also a poet and scholar, having heard of the fame of Jayadeva's poem, composed another and called it *Abhinava Gīta Govinda*.[3] He ordered the Brāhmaṇas to copy and popularise his poem, but in reply they showed him Jayadeva's composition, and said that it was far superior to his, and a lamp could not be compared to the sun. To settle the controversy it was decided that both the poems be placed before the idol of Jagannath and his verdict obtained. In the morning when the sanctuary was opened, Jagannath was seen clasping Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* to his bosom, while the king's composition was lying on the floor.

The esteem in which the *Gita Govinda* is held is evident from the following anecdote. It is said that a gardener's daughter was gathering brinjals in a field close to the temple of Jagannath at Puri and singing with great zest the following verse from the fifth canto of the *Gīta Govinda:*

Ratisukhasāre gatamabhisāre madanamanoharavesham
Na kuru nitambini! gamanavilambanamanusara taṁ hṛidayeśam.

Dhīrasamīre Yamunātīre vasati vane Vanamālī,
Gopī-pīnapayodharamardanachañchalakarayugaśālī.

"O Rādhā! all the pleasures of life you have renounced, while on the bank of the Yamunā where the zephyr is gently blowing, the Vanamālī, whose restless hands crush the full-grown breasts of the *gopīs*, adorned with beautiful clothes, tarrieth in a grove; and he wants to enjoy thy kiss, that same kiss which first taught him the lesson of true love. Therefore, O Rādhā! shake off thy pride, delay no more, and make his melancholy heart blossom by the fragrant draught of thy love."

On hearing the music of the verses, the idol of Jagannath followed the gardener's daughter. As a result his thin garments were torn by the brambles, but he continued his ecstatic march in the field of brinjals till the song was over. Next morning when the Rājā of Puri went to the temple he saw the tattered clothes of Jagannath, and on learning the cause he issued a proclamation that the *Gīta Govinda* should only be recited in a clean and purified place as the 'Lord of the Universe' Himself was fond of it. Even now at Puri this song is sung before the image of Jagannath when He retires for the night.

It is said that after the completion of the *Gīta Govinda* Jayadeva went on pilgrimage to Vṛindāvana, where he sat in meditation at various places associated with the sports of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. He must have been disappointed to find his favourite trees like *aśoka*, *kesara* and palmyra palm, which he describes in his poem, missing in the forests of Vṛindāvana. From Vṛindāvana

Fig. 9. Kṛishṇa exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels.





Fig. 10. He embraces one of them, while others have fixed their gaze on his lotus face.

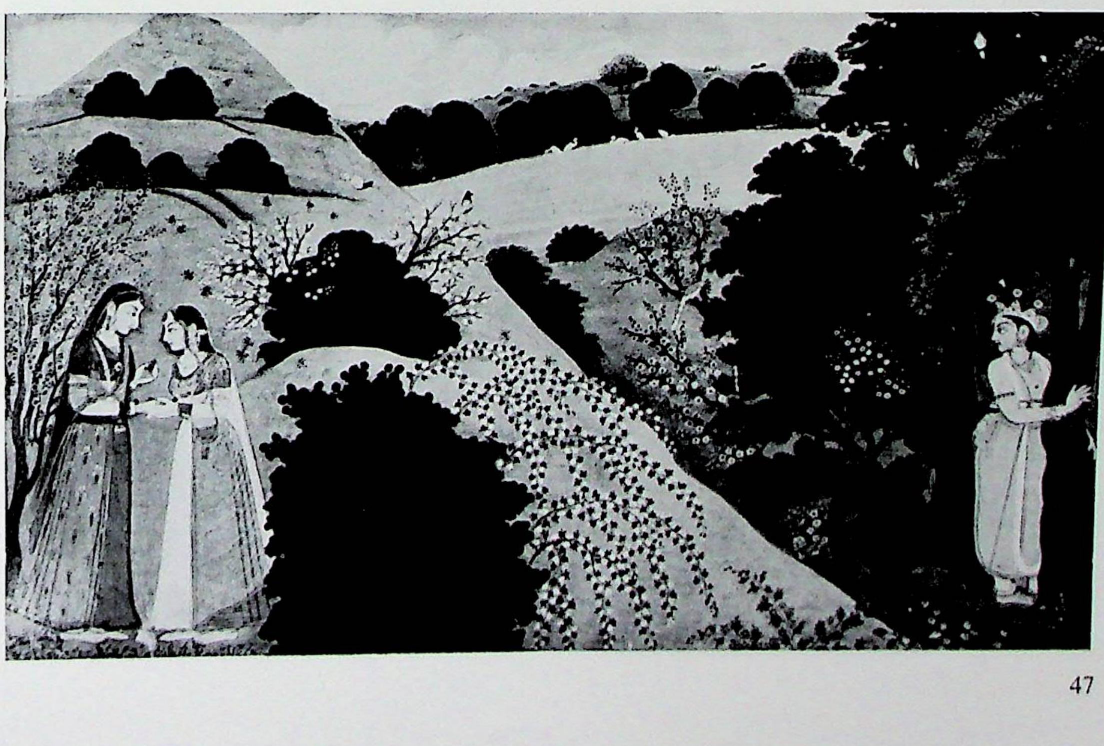
he went to Amber at the invitation of the Rājā. After staying with the Rājā for some months, he felt a longing for home, and told the Rājā of his intention of departure. The Rājā represented that since his arrival his subjects had become more virtuous, and that if he left they would revert to their previous mode of living, and virtue and *dharma* would depart. As a further inducement, he himself went and brought Padmāvatī to Amber and installed her in the palace, and the Rāṇī was directed to serve her. Soon after the arrival of Padmāvatī, the Rāṇī's brother died, and his wife committed satī. One day, the Rāṇī was boasting to Padmāvatī of the devotion of her sister-in-law. Padmāvatī merely smiled, and when asked the reason, she said, "A satī is that who breathes her last on hearing the very news of the death of her husband, for that alone could be the test of true love and devotion." The Rāṇī felt annoyed at the remark of Padmāvatī, and decided to give her a test. One day when Jayadeva had gone out to a forest, one of the servants of the Rāṇī came and informed Padmāvatī with feigned grief that Jayadeva had been killed by a tiger. On hearing the news, Padmāvatī swooned and fell lifeless on the ground. On seeing what had happened, the Rāṇī

turned pale with fright. When the Rājā learnt the true facts, he severely rebuked her for her folly. Finding her existence miserable, she prepared to immolate herself. When Jayadeva came and heard the sad story, he requested her not to take the desperate step, and approaching the corpse of Padmāvatī sang his well-known *ashṭapadīs* from the *Gīta Govinda.* Lo and behold, such was the power of his love and music that Padmāvatī was restored to life, and joined her husband in his song.

Jayadeva later on became the court poet of Lakshmaṇasena, the last Hindu king of Bengal. Lakshmaṇasena was a patron of literature and he had five well-known poets at his court, called the 'Five Jewels', of whom Jayadeva was undoubtedly the most brilliant. So proud was the king of his poets, that he erected a monument in their honour at Gaur, his capital. The characteristics of the five poets are thus described by Jayadeva:

Vāchaḥ pallavayatyumāpatidharaḥ
Sandarbhaśuddhiṁ girāṁ
Jānīte Jayadeva eva śaraṇaḥ
Ślāghyo durūhadruteḥ
Śṛiṅgārottarasatprameyarachanai-
Rāchāryagovardhana-
Spardhī kopi na viśrutaḥ śrutidharo-
Dhoyī Kavikshmāpatiḥ.

Fig. 11. 'Oh comrade, bring him, whose beauty unlaces all my garments.'



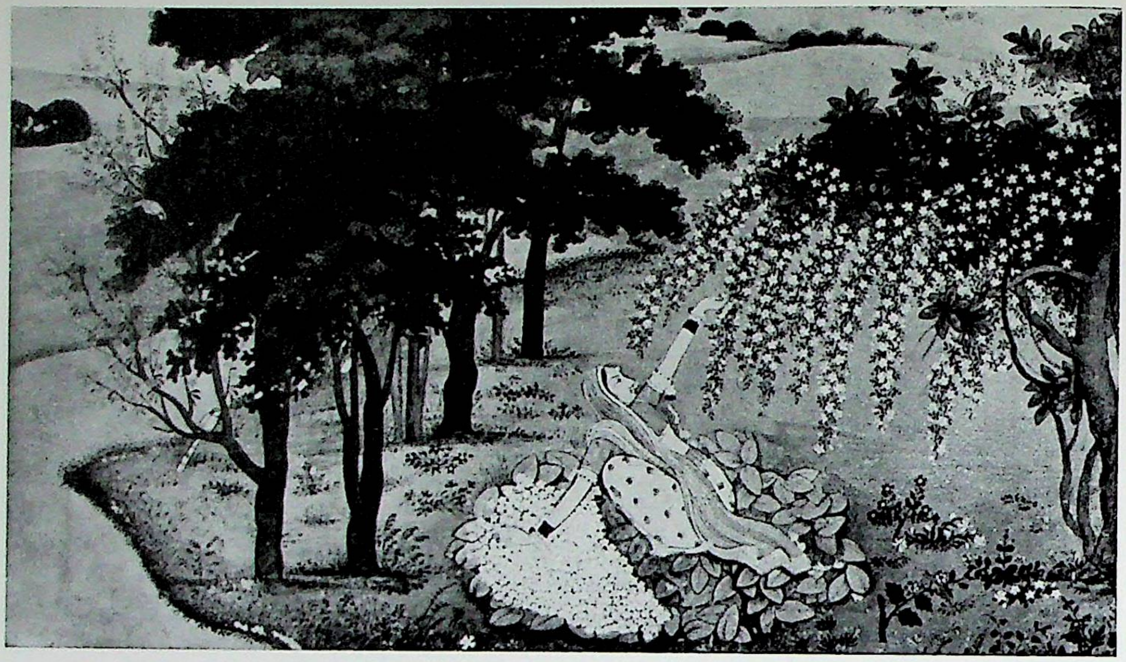


Fig. 12. A damsel prepares a bed of tender aśoka leaves, and decorates it with blossoms to receive Kṛishṇa.

"Śaraṇa is praised for extempore rendering of difficult passages;
Govardhana surpasseth in description of love;
No one is so famed as the king of poets Dhoyī
for remembering what he hath once heard.
Umāpatidhara excelleth in word-painting;
Jayadeva alone knoweth purity of style."

After some time Jayadeva and Padmāvatī felt that they had seen enough of regal life, and they returned to their humble cottage at Kenduli, where they lived in the company of saints and holy men.

Form of the Poem

Lassen considered the poem a lyric drama and Jones called it a pastoral. Levi regarded it as an opera and Pischel placed it in a category between song and drama. Von Schroeder regarded it as a refined *yātrā*. The *yātrās*, the festival plays of Bengal, resemble the *rāsa* of Mathurā, and in these, in a primitive form of dance drama, the anecdotes of the Kṛishṇa-*līlā* are shown accompanied by song and music. As the poem is divided into cantos, Keith regards it as belonging to the generic type *kāvya*. S. K. De, however, states that "as a creative work of art, it has a form of its own, and it defies conventional classification."[4] No doubt, it is an original piece of work of remarkable beauty.



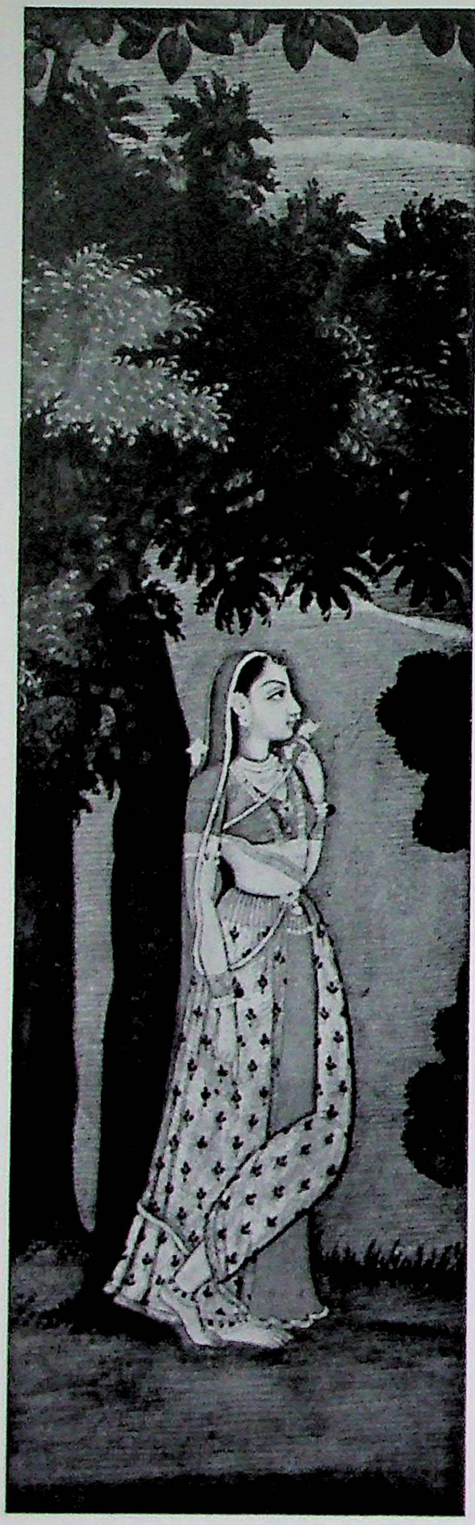
Fig. 13. 'Now refix, O tender-hearted, the golden bells of my girdle in their destined station.'

Discussing the form and content of the poem, Keith thus sums up his opinion of the *Gīta Govinda:*

"Jayadeva's work is a masterpiece and it surpasses in its completeness of effect any other Indian poem. It has all the perfection of the miniature word-pictures which are so common in Sanskrit poetry, with the beauty which arises as Aristotle asserts from magnitude and arrangement. All the sides of love, save that of utter despair and final separation, are brilliantly described; all the emotions of longing, of awakened hope, of disappointment, of hot anger against the unfaithful one, of reconciliation, are portrayed by the actors themselves or Rādhā's friend in songs which are perfect in metrical form and display at its highest point the sheer beauty of words of which Sanskrit is pre-eminently capable. There can be no doubt that in their wider range of interests, in which love plays a part important indeed but not paramount in human affairs, Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides can attain in their choruses effects more appealing to our minds than Jayadeva, but their medium is not capable of producing so complete a harmony of sound and sense."[5]

Music in the *Gīta Govinda*

The *Gīta Govinda* is divided into twelve cantos and contains about three hundred *ślokas*. It is a type of Oriental opera, and prefixed to each song is the name of the mode in which it is to be



sung. Thus Canto I in which there is a delightful description of spring is set to *Rāga Vasanta* and mode *yati*. Canto II in which the penitence of Kṛishṇa is described is to be sung in *Rāginī Gurjarī* and *tāla yati*. Canto IV is according to *Rāga Karṇāṭa* and mode *ekatālī*. The longings of Kṛishṇa in Canto V are to be sung in *Rāga Deśivarāḍī* and mode *rūpaka*. Canto VII which describes the anger of Rādhā on the disloyalty of Kṛishṇa is according to *Rāga Mālava* and the mode *yati*. Canto VIII, when Rādhā rebukes Kṛishṇa for his liberality in love, is set to *Rāga Bhairavī* and mode *yati* which is sung early in the morning. Canto IX is set to *Rāga Gurjarī*, mode *yati*. The meeting of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa as described in Canto XI is again set to *Rāga Vasanta*, and the union of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in Canto XII is set to *Rāga Vibhāsa*. It may be mentioned that this arrangement is not peculiar to the *Gīta Govinda* only. All the hymns in the *Guru Granth*, the holy book of the Sikhs, are to be sung according to particular *rāgas* and *rāginīs* according to time, season, place and mood. Sir William Jones, who translated the *Gīta Govinda* in 1792, made an effort to secure its original music but could not succeed. Sir William Jones says, "When I first read the songs of Jayadeva, who has prefixed to each the name of the mode in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original music; but the Paṇḍits of the South referred me to those of the West, and the Brahmans of the West could have sent me to those of the North; while they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir declared that they had no ancient music, but imagined that the notes of the *Gīta Govinda* must exist, if anywhere, where the poet was born."[6] A quest like this was futile for Indian music is not recorded notationally, and is only orally taught, and the tradition is carried on from the teacher to the pupil.

Fig. 14. Her thoughts were confounded with the fever of desire.

Originally the *Gīta Govinda* must have been performed as a type of *Rāsa-līlā*; for the poem is musical, with alliterations, assonances and recurring choruses. It is still popular in Bengal, Karṇāṭaka, Kerala, and Mahārāshṭra, and recently its performance in an opera form has become popular in the cities of South India.

Story of the Poem

After paying homage to ten incarnations of Vishṇu, Jayadeva describes how the love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā began one dark night on the bank of the Yamunā. Then follows a delightful description of the spring, and he describes the flirtations of Kṛishṇa with the *gopīs*. Now the theme of the poem is *Virahaduḥkha*, or pain of separation in love. Ignored by Kṛishṇa, Rādhā feels hurt and retires to a bower and she asks her maid to bring Kṛishṇa to her. In the meantime Kṛishṇa feels sorry for his conduct, searches for Rādhā and on not finding her is in deep anguish. Now Rādhā's messenger finds Kṛishṇa and tells him how Rādhā is pining away in grief for him, and asks him to go to her. The female messenger then goes to Rādhā, and tells her about the longings of Kṛishṇa for her. But finding that Rādhā is too weak to move, she returns to Kṛishṇa and asks him to go to Rādhā's bower. In the meantime Rādhā becomes impatient and petulant, and imagines that Kṛishṇa is flirting with cowherd damsels. Early in the morning Kṛishṇa comes to Rādhā, who rebukes him for his liberality in love. Kṛishṇa leaves, and Rādhā's female companion chides her for her obstinacy, and ultimately persuades her to meet Kṛishṇa in his bower at night time. When the night of love is over, Rādhā rises, and finding herself disarrayed, indulges in love-play and asks her lover to paint a circlet of musk on her breasts, and arrange her hair, clothes and ornaments in their proper places.



Fig. 15. 'Grant me but a sight of thee, O lovely Rādhikā!'

Kṛishṇa is the human soul engaged in amorous sports with the *gopīs,* who represent the delights of the illusory world, ignoring Rādhā, the personification of intellectual and moral beauty. He is 'reminded' by the messenger, and returns to Rādhā, who comes to his rescue and weans him from the pleasures of the world of the senses. Ultimately Kṛishṇa is freed from sensuous distractions, and his union with Rādhā, the personification of divine love and beauty, takes place. According to Lassen, "Rādhā is supreme in beauty, with a loveliness which is at once celestial, and yet enshrined in earthly mould. Her charms lift the mind to heavenly contemplations, and the God of Love, Kāma, borrows his best weapons from them. She is forgiving and pitiful even towards her erring and lingering lover; she would meet him in returning if she could; she grieves more than she blames; and once reconciled, is beyond measure tender. The remedy for the illusions of senses — *saṁsāra* — is placed by all Hindu philosophers in the understanding of true existence, and Rādhā, in my judgment, represents this remedy — being the personified contemplation of the divine beauty and goodness."[7]

According to some, the poem has no mystical significance and it is hardly necessary to give a metaphysical interpretation. The ancient Hindus were quite uninhibited and frank in accepting the truth that is flesh. This is evident from the sculptures of Konarak where passion oozes from the grey stones. The classical poets of ancient India saw no harm in the love adventures of the gods and their spouses. After all Kṛishṇa and Rādhā are the symbols of Man and Woman, and in their amours are reflected the loves of mankind.

Fig. 16. 'Why sittest thou so mournful? Afflict not thy soul with extreme anguish.'



There are two facts which stand out prominently in the *Gīta Govinda*, and which no doubt left a deep impression on Jayadeva and his composition. These are the beauty of his wife Padmāvatī, and the landscape of Orissa and West Bengal. That he was very fond of his wife is evident from the fact that he describes himself as '*Pat* Padmāvatī', i.e. the husband of Padmāvatī in his poem. At the beginning of the *Gīta*, he describes himself as the poet, "whose heart is adorned with the grace of speech, and who is supreme in devotion to Padmāvatī." At the close of his poem, when he describes the dalliance of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, he mentions that Kṛishṇa while he was telling Rādhā of her past birth "removed the lucid veil from the bosom of Padmā, and fixed his gaze on the delicious buds that grow on it." The reference is to Lakshmī or Padmā, the goddess who stands on the lotus, and also to Padmāvatī, and the conjugal bliss which they enjoyed. The intimate love pictures which he has painted in his verses in such a passionate language could only occur to a person who knew the art of love-making from experience.

Impress of the Landscape of Orissa and West Bengal

In the description of Spring which Jayadeva has given in Canto I of his poem, one is reminded of the landscape of Orissa and West Bengal. He describes mango trees covered with blossoming tresses, clasped by *mādhavī* and *atimukta* creepers. He describes the scarlet crimson *palāśa* which resemble the nails of Kāmadeva. He mentions how the fragrant flowers of *ketakī* kindle every heart, and perfume the woods. *Ketakī* is a common plant in Orissa and is used by the villagers for fencing their fields. He compares the breasts of Rādhā with the fruits of *tāla* which is also common in Orissa. He describes the fragrant breeze laden with the scent of cloves blowing from the hills of Malayagiri. He further mentions *kesara*, *vakula*, *mandāra*, *kadamba*, *madhuka*, *aśoka* and *tamāla* which are all commonly found in the villages of Orissa.

In the *Gīta Govinda* one finds a deep impression of the seascape of Puri. Jayadeva must have frequented the beach at Puri and admired the moon over the ocean and the particles of sand transformed into diamonds by the magic of moonlight. During the monsoons, when the clouds are sailing from the Bay of Bengal, and the distant ocean at Puri is lit by the rays of the sun, one is reminded of the lines of Jayadeva:

She in her beauty dark shall look—
As long as clouds can be—
As gracious as the rain-time cloud
Kissing the shining sea.[8]

The Puri beach at high tide is an unforgettable sight. The breakers thunder and roll high into the sky as if trying to embrace the full moon. Describing the union of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in Canto XI, Jayadeva writes:

Shame, which had lingered in her downcast eyes,
Departed ashamed and like the mighty deep
Which sees the moon and rises, all his life
Uprose to drink her beams.[9]

Archer has rightly observed: "Much of the *Gīta Govinda's* power arises from the endowment of Nature with romantic ardour, the forest itself being presented as a highly sensitive and symbolic setting for the behaviour of lovers."[10] The scarlet blossoms of *palāśa*, which flame red like the golden finger-nails of Kāma, tear the hearts of lovers with amorous frenzy. The *ketakī* pierces the heart with the keen-edged aroma of its spears. The orange tree laden with white blossoms shivers at the pain of separated lovers. Even the sleeping mango tree, clasped by the *mādhavī* creeper, grows conscious with love, quivers with joy, and bursts into tender purple shoots. The white blossoms of *garuṇā* blush modest red on seeing the antics of lovers. The *koel* trills forth its wild lyric in the branches of the mango, whose blossoms shake under the weight of the passion of the black humming bees, who dart forth like the arrows of Kāma.

The *Gīta Govinda* has a particular appeal to us for it is the eternal song of Man and Woman. In this song we hear our own heart-beats. In Rādhā is personified the devotion and loyalty of womanhood, desiring exclusive possession of her lover. Rādhā is the symbol of the ideal woman, who is beautiful, pure, intense, independent, yet seeking the image of man. She is unhappy when she sees her lover wasting his affection on cowherdesses. Kṛishṇa realizing his folly ultimately comes to her, flatters, implores, and asks forgiveness. Rādhā, who is a symbol of goodness, generously forgives him. The ultimate union of lovers is devotion at its intensest point, when the self is forgotten and dissolves in supreme ecstasy.

Many centuries have passed since the *Gīta Govinda* was composed but its fame continues undiminished. Its rich imagery, entrancing music, and passionate love pictures have given joy to millions. It is a song based on vital experience, and as such will remain immortal. As Puran Singh says: "Jayadeva employs the fiery sense of passion to colour his music; he uses the highest symbols of life to make the love of God a reality to man. The whole song of the *Gīta Govinda* is pervaded by that supreme creative feeling which divides reality into the two illusive forms of male and female, and makes them dance like two flames of life; till the measure of perfection is fulfilled by all forms vanishing again into one."

"The *Gīta Govinda* is the gift to us of a highly lyrical genius that has boldly caught the fiercest flames of the human heart and dashed them in a glory of divine frenzy back on the Heavens to announce love on this earth. Of all persons, Jayadeva knows that the purity and richness of the sex-feeling is the richness of sincerity itself. Love without sex is unthinkable; at least on this earth. Youth soaked with the reddest wine of this feeling is the image of that higher and hidden life beyond death, where sex, in the shape of love, is the only vesture of soul."[11]

Sex is the supreme fact in life. It provides the urge to procreate and maintain the species. It is concealed like lightning in a cloud, and in its glow is the birth of art, literature and science. Sex union among lovers is the most exalted experience in life, and in mutual ecstasy the liberation of the soul from the narrow 'self' takes place. This is the supreme experience of lovers as well as mystics. That is why in describing the union of God and soul, the extremely beautiful imagery of man and woman is employed by Vaishṇava poets and mystics. Thus we see that the classification of love into 'carnal' and 'spiritual' is arbitrary and unwarranted for the so-called 'spiritual' love has



Fig. 17. The damsel found the disconsolate God under an arbour by the side of the Yamunā, and thus described the affliction of his beloved: 'Oh Krishṇa, dost thou not know the torment of Rādhā's soul, separate from thee? She is a perpetual prayer whose fulfilment art thou.'

its roots in the so-called 'physical' love. As the lotus shining in its ethereal purity has its roots deep in the mire of the pond, similarly spiritual love has its roots in physical love. It is in this sense that the passionate imagery, and glowing sensuality of the *Gīta Govinda* is to be interpreted. As Archer says: "What in fact in other cultures had been viewed with suspicion and disquiet was here invested with nobility and grandeur."

The mysterious force which keeps the planets in their orbits, and the electrons revolving around their nuclei, has its parallel in what is called love, which provides the cohesive element which keeps the human society happy and harmonious. It is the golden chain which binds the hearts of men and women. It is also manifested in birds and animals. We see it in the pairs of pigeons rubbing their beaks and pecking each other. The lover sees it in the misty eyes of his sweet-heart. We also see it in the fond eyes of the mother looking admiringly at her child. No doubt various forces are at work in the universe, but love alone has its sustaining power on life. Men vainly search for God in churches and temples, while He dwells inside them in their hearts. The Vaishṇava saints discovered this secret, and to people disillusioned by riddles of philosophy, it came as a spell of rain after a prolonged drought, and their lives were filled with blessedness and joy. Sexual love which also demands loyalty of the highest order, and selflessness is the purest, the most romantic and most beautiful of all human sentiments. Man experiences it in all its force and power at the sight of some particular woman. When this happens, he feels electrified, as if shaken by a storm. As the

moon raises tides in the ocean, so does woman agitate and shake the soul of man! Chaṇḍī Dās experienced it when he had glimpses of the glorious form of his beloved Rāmī, half revealed through her blue *sārī* in the temple courtyard at Nannur. Bewildered and confused by the accusations of Brāhmaṇas, his kinsmen, for falling in love with a low-caste washer-woman, and faced with ex-communication from his caste, Chaṇḍī Dās approached his patron goddess Basulī for advice and guidance. Thus spoke the goddess: "Love this woman, my son, it is your fate that you should do so — nay, this love will sanctify you; neither I nor hundreds of gods and goddesses like me will be able to give you a glimpse of that higher life which this woman's love will teach you."[12] This is also the theme of the *Gīta Govinda* which sanctifies human love and places it on a par with divine love.

In the poem of Jayadeva we find the warp of sensuous delight mixed with the woof of spiritual yearning, and he frequently returns to remembrance of God. Lest the eroticism of the poem be misinterpreted, Jayadeva at the very beginning of his song reminds his reader:

Yadi Harismaraṇe sarasaṁ mano
Yadi vilāsakalāsu kutūhalaṁ
Madhurakomalakāntapadāvalīṁ
Śṛiṇu tadā Jayadevasarasvatīm.

> "If thy heart is steeped in contemplation and softened by the remembrance of Hari, and you are possessed by the insatiable desire to hear of his supreme and transcendental deeds and of the pure dalliance dances which he enjoyed with his devotees, the *gopis* of Vraja — then with faith and purity of body, mind and heart hearest thou this poem of Jayadeva."



Fig. 18. 'O Moon, that art so pure and pale, is Kṛishṇa wane like thee with lonely waiting?'

CHAPTER II

PAINTINGS OF THE GĪTA GOVINDA

Jayadeva's poem made a tremendous impact on posterity. It inspired millions of people with sincere expressions of divine love. Birbhum became the fountain spring of the songs of Vaishṇavas. A few centuries after him Chaṇḍī Dās (fl. 1420) sang his enchanting songs from village Nannur in the same district. He loved Rāmī, the washer-woman and with the ardour of a devotee idolized her as Devī, the mother goddess herself. Vidyāpati (fl. 1400–1470), the Maithila poet, wrote poems of matchless beauty on Rādhā's love for Kṛishṇa. Shiv Singh, the Rājā of Mithilā, conferred the title of 'Abhinava Jayadeva', a new Jayadeva, on Vidyāpati. This shows in what esteem Jayadeva was held by Vidyāpati, as well as by his royal patron. Chaitanya (1486–1534), the Vaishṇava saint, was so fond of the *Gīta Govinda* that he heard its recital almost every day, and the music of *saṁkīrtana* parties enchanted the Hindu masses of Bengal and Orissa. Some of Jayadeva's hymns were included by Guru Arjan (1581–1606) in the *Guru Granth*, the holy book of the Sikhs, along with the writing of mystics like Kabīr, Nām Dev, Ravi Dās and Farīd.

Ultimately the *Gīta Govinda* found visual expression in painting which developed in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Punjab Hills. The earliest illustrations of the *Gīta Govinda* were painted in Gujarat about 1450. A series of the *Gīta Govinda* paintings were painted in 1590 at Jaunpur, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, and are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Tod

mentions that "Akbar was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of Jayadeva." In 1615, during the reign of Akbar, a manuscript of the *Gīta Govinda* was produced, illustrated with paintings in Mughal style, in which Rādhā and her female companions are shown dressed in Mughal clothes. This shows that not only Hindus, but men of all creeds were enchanted with Jayadeva's song. It is said that "a Mughal on hearing of divine honours paid to the work, used to peruse it with the greatest delight. One day while riding, he was singing its verses, when he fell into an ecstasy of pleasure, and he felt communion with Kṛishṇa."[13]

A wave of Vaishṇavism spread in Rajasthan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and along with the worship of Kṛishṇa the song of Jayadeva also became popular. There is an imaginary painting of Jayadeva with five other poets in the Khajanchi collection, painted in the primitive *Chaurapañchāśikā* style, which has been dated *c.* 1580. In *c.* 1610 the *Gīta Govinda* was painted in Western Rajasthan in the mellowed and modified Jaina style. A large series of paintings of the poem were painted in Mewar in 1723 under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Saṁgrām Singh II (1710–1734), which are now in Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍār, Udaipur. An artist of Kishangarh painted a delightful series of paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* in 1820 for Rājā Kalyān Singh, which are in the collection of the present Rājā. The songs of Jayadeva were also sung on the festivals of Kṛishṇa in Rajasthan. Tod mentions, "On the festival of the birthday of Kanhaiyā there is a scenic representation of Kanhaiyā and the *gopis:* when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic lands of Vraja, the songs of Jayadeva."[14]

At Basohli in the Jammu Hills the *Gīta Govinda* was rendered in a series of paintings in 1730 during the rule of Rājā Medinī Pāl. The paintings of this series are in the Central Museum, Lahore, the Punjab Museum, Chandigarh, the National Museum, New Delhi, and with some private collectors.

However, the supreme expression of the beautiful theme of the *Gīta Govinda* is found in a series of paintings, now in the possession of Mahārāja Mānvindra Shāh of Tehri-Garhwal, some of which are in the collection of the late N. C. Mehta. Where were these paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* series painted? In the Kangra Valley or Garhwal? Who was the artist who painted them? These are the problems which we will now discuss.

We owe the discovery of these paintings to the late N. C. Mehta, who found them in the collection of Mahārājā Narendra Shāh of Tehri-Garhwal. Mehta (1926) published two paintings of the series in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, in a chapter entitled, 'The Court-art of Tehri-Garhwal'. From the fact that he found these paintings in the collection of the Mahārājā of Garhwal he concluded that they were painted in Garhwal. Later research has shown that the collections of paintings with the rulers of the Hill States are mixed, and pictures painted in one State are often found in another State. On the occasions of marriages, paintings were often taken by the brides to their new homes. In fact in settling the provenance of a painting, inscriptions, style, and landscape provide more reliable clues. The colophon of the *Gīta Govinda* paintings has a circular painting of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa seated on a terrace in a garden, and on the top of the painting is an inscription in Sanskrit inscribed in golden letters against a background of blue. It was translated for



Fig. 19. Colophon of the Gita Govinda Paintings

me by Dr. Raghu Vira, the well-known Sanskrit scholar. The inscription as well as the translation provided by him is given below:

Muni-vasu-giri-somaiḥ saṁmite Vikramābde
Guṇi-gaṇita-garishṭhā Mālinī-vṛitta-vittā

1 *vyarachayad*	2 *aja-bhaktā*	3 *Māṇakū*	4 *chitrakartrā*
6 *lalita*	7 *lipi*	5 *vichitraṁ*	8 *gita-govinda-chitram*

1 caused to be composed	2 the devotee of Aja (the unborn)	3 through Māṇakū	4 the artist
5 characterised by	6 a delicate	7 brush	8 the painting of the *Gita Govinda*

"In the year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages of Vikrama Saṁvat, i.e. 1787, a devotee of Aja, caused this painting of the *Gita Govinda*, characterised by a delicate brush, to be painted by Māṇakū, the artist."

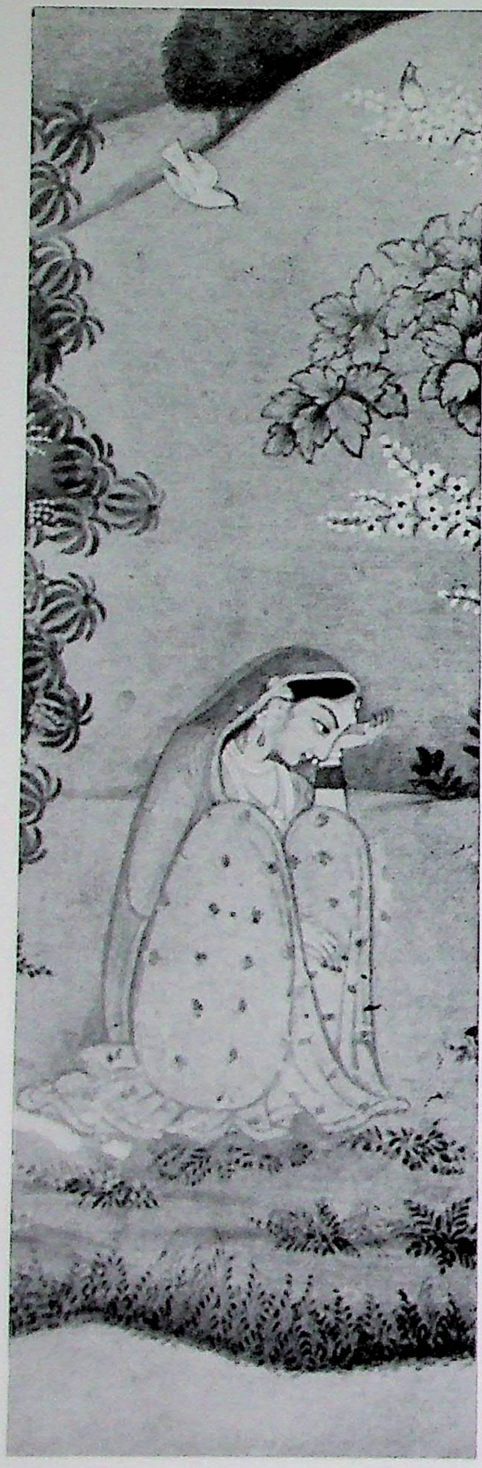


Fig. 20. Her face is like the water lily, veiled in the dew of tears.

Who was this Māṇakū or Māṇak? Was he a Garhwal artist or a Kangra artist? Among the portraits of the artists of the Kangra School, there is one, of Māṇak. Māṇak is described as the elder son of Seu, and his portrait is now available in the Punjab Museum, Chandigarh. On the top of his portrait he is described as Māṇakū *Musawar* while below his portrait in a corner the inscription in Devanāgarī is as follows: '*Seu da putar barā Māṇak, Chhotā Nainsukh*'. Māṇak has a sensitive face, aquiline nose and a beard trimmed in Mughal style. Nainsukh, his younger brother, was painting for Rājā Balwant Singh of Jammu in 1750. It seems that Māṇak migrated to Guler where he worked for Rājā Govardhan Chand (1744–1773) and later on for his successor Prakāsh Chand (1773–1790). From Guler he appears to have gone to the court of Mahārājā Sansār Chand at Tira-Sujanpur about 1790 when the affairs of Guler State deteriorated during the rule of Prakāsh Chand. It seems that these *Gīta Govinda* paintings were very likely painted by him during the period 1790–1805 under the patronage of Sansār Chand when he was at the height of his glory. During this period he mostly resided at Tira-Sujanpur. The inscription is an exact copy of an earlier inscription on the colophon of Basohli paintings of the *Gīta Govinda*. It seems that there were two different artists with the name of Māṇak, one who flourished about 1730 and painted the *Gīta Govinda* paintings in Basohli style, and the other who flourished about A.D.1790–1805, and painted the *Gita Govinda* paintings in Kangra style.

Apart from landscape and buildings shown in these paintings, which remind us of Tira-Sujanpur and the river Beas, the paintings also have an inscription in Devanāgarī in the dialect of Panjabi current in Kangra in which a translation of the Sanskrit verses of the poem is provided. This is an indubitable proof of the fact that they were painted in the Kangra Valley, and not in Garhwal.

Sansār Chand of Kangra

The work of the artist of the *Gīta Govinda* paintings must be seen against its historical, cultural and social setting, and in connection with the ideas from which sprang the urge to create. Who was the devotee of Vishṇu for whom Māṇak, the artist, painted the pictures of the *Gīta Govinda*? It could be no other than Mahārājā Sansār Chand of Kangra, the greatest patron of painting in the Punjab Hills. Sansār Chand was born in 1766 at Bijapur, a village about six miles from Lambagraon in Palampur Tehsil of the Kangra District. The Katoch dynasty which he headed is of enormous antiquity, and Suśarman, their ancient ancestor was the ally of Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata*. The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the Great Battle at Kurukshetra they lost their lands in Multan, and retired to the District Jalandhara and built the fort of Kangra. The kingdom of Jalandhara or Trigarta, at the beginning of the eleventh century comprised almost all the country between the Satluj and the Ravi in the outer hills, as well as the area in the plains known as Jalandhara Doab. The country to the west of Kangra was also called Katoch, and was one of the three provinces of the Kangra Valley, the other two being Changar and Palam. Changar is the name given to the area south of Palam which consists of chains of barren low hills, and Palam is the fertile area to the east between Kangra and Baijnath studded with tea gardens and paddy fields.

Sansār Chand was the most renowned of the Rājās who ruled in Kangra. His father, Tegh Chand, had a brief and uneventful rule for a year. However, his grandfather, Ghamāṇḍ Chand (1751–1774), was a powerful ruler. The Mughal power was on the wane, and Ahmed Shāh Durrānī who acquired supremacy over the Punjab, appointed Ghamāṇḍ Chand as Governor of Jalandhara Doab. Thus Ghamāṇḍ Chand was able to extend his power in the hills, and became the supreme ruler over the Hill States between the Satluj and the Ravi, and he also seized the *taluqa* of Palam from Chamba. He embellished Tira-Sujanpur, his

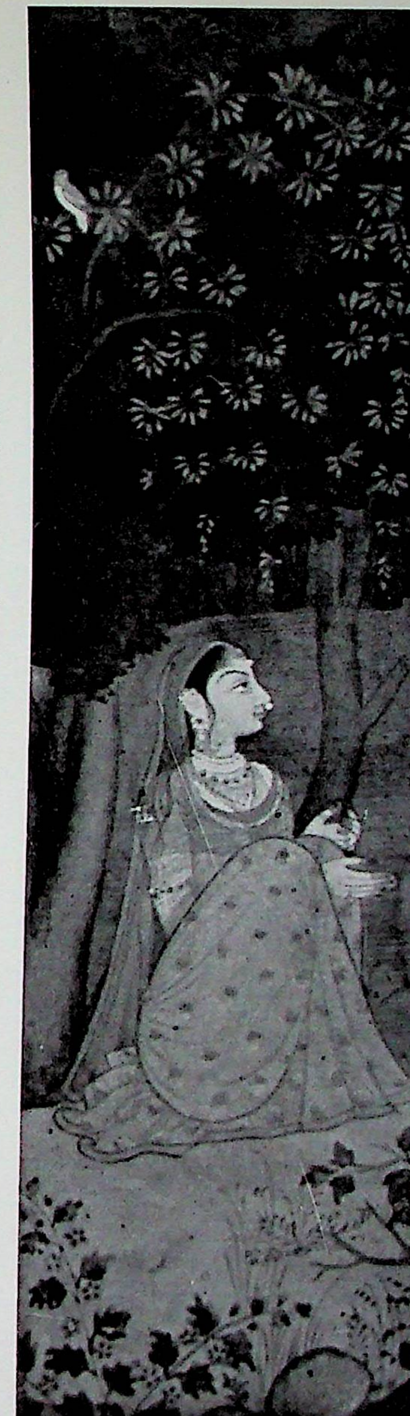


Fig. 21. She is bewildered like a doe pursued by the lion of desire.



capital, with many new buildings.

When Sansār Chand ascended the *gaddī* in 1776, he was only ten years of age. There was complete confusion in the plains of the Punjab. The Durrānīs of Afghanistan were unable to establish their power effectively, and the Sikhs under the missals, were holding sway over the plains, and were also extending their power towards the hills. Sansār Chand raised a large army of mercenaries consisting of Rajputs, Afghans and Rohillas, and extended his rule over all the neighbouring Rajput States. He successfully withstood many combinations made against him. He invaded the neighbouring States, killed Rājā Rāj Singh of Chamba in a battle, and made Ishwari Sen, the Rājā of Mandi, his captive. Prakāsh Chand of Guler was virtually his vassal. In 1786 he obtained from Sardar Jai Singh Kanhaya the famous Kangra fort which he had conquered from Saif Alī Khān, the last Mughal Governor. A place impregnable by the arms and artillery of those times — its possession gave control of the neighbouring country. There is a proverb in the hills — 'He who holds the Kangra fort, holds the Hills'.

With the occupation of the Kangra fort, Sansār Chand became the most powerful Rājā of the Kangra Valley. He gained a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors, and ruled despotically for twenty years. He was able to establish law and order in the hills at a time when the Mughal Empire was in the throes of dissolution, and conditions in the plains were chaotic. On account of the peace which he was able to establish in the Kangra Valley, he attracted poets and painters and encouraged the fine arts. Thus writes Ghulām Mohiuddīn in his *Tawārīkh-ī-Punjab:* "For many

Fig. 22. 'I meditate on him, whose body is the colour of the dark blue cloud, adorned with the rainbow in the sky.'

years he passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Naushirvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others resorted to Kangra, and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by gratification of his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers, and received such gifts and favours at his hands that he was regarded as the Hatim of that age, and in generosity the Rustom of the time."

In 1820 Moorcroft, an English traveller, paid a visit to Sansār Chand, while on his way to Samarkand on a mission to purchase ponies. He has left an interesting account of Sansār Chand, his family and his daily life. Thus writes Moorcroft: "In the evening I waited upon the Rājā at his desire, and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden. Rājā Sansār Chand is a tall well-formed man, about sixty. His complexion is dark, but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rāi Aniruddha Chand, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansār Chand was formerly the most powerful Rājā from the Satluj to the Indus. All the potentates from the former river to Kashmir, were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit Singh."

Describing the daily life of the Rājā, Moorcroft writes: "Rājā Sansār Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion; and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers.

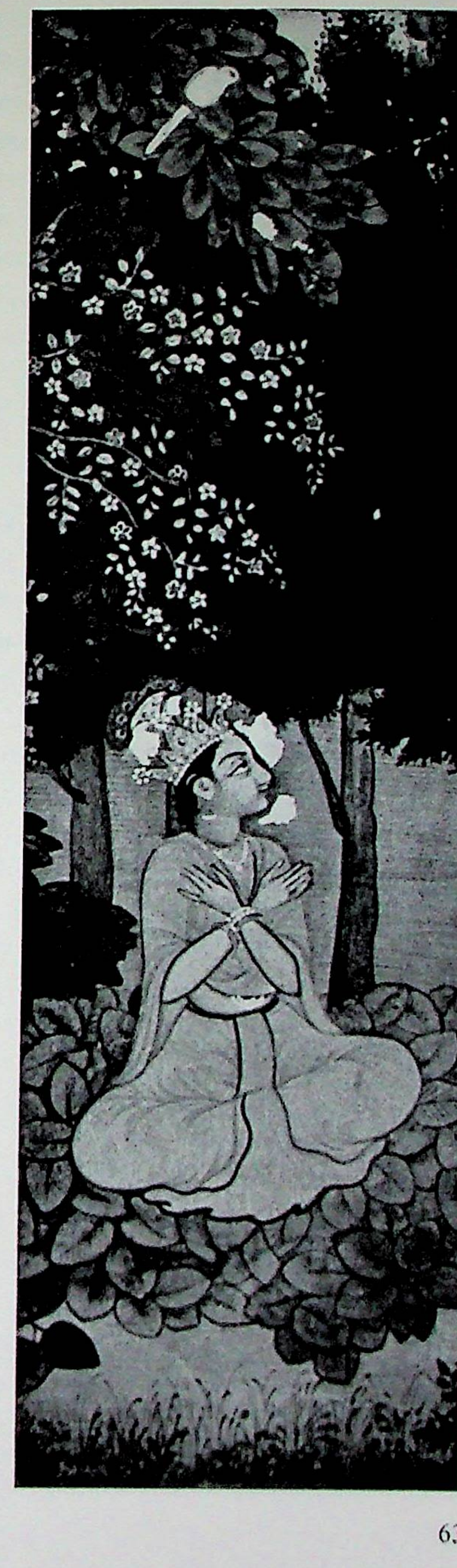


Fig. 23. 'The deity crowned with sylvan blossom laments, O friend, in thy absence.'



For several days prior to my departure, he passed this period at a small *bangala*, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Rājā retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and *nāching* in which the performers recite most commonly Brajabhāshā songs relating to Kṛishṇa. Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represents the feats of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the *Mahābhārata*."[15]

Sansār Chand was romantically inclined, and apart from his three queens from Suket, Sirmaur and Barā Banghāl, he also married Nokhu, a Gaddan beauty. The Rājā was out on *shikār* and passed through the picturesque village of Bāndlā. At the fountain, he saw a remarkably beautiful woman filling a pot. Charmed by her beauty, he forcibly had her taken in a palanquin to his palace at Sujanpur. She was a married woman, and for long she remembered her shepherd husband. Her husband also often came and grazed his flock of goats and sheep below the palace walls, while she looked at him wistfully. After a lapse of some years she became reconciled to her new situation, and the Mahārājā paid some compensation to her husband, and thus got her released from her marriage bond with the shepherd. The romance of Sansār Chand and Nokhu, the Gaddan beauty, later on named Gulāb Dāssī, is celebrated in Kangra folk songs.

In the last days of his life which he spent at Nadaun, Sansār Chand fell in love with a dancing girl whose name is given as Jamālo. Now he was a frustrated middle-aged man, who had suffered considerable humiliation at the hands of Ranjit Singh. While he was dreaming of becoming the monarch of the Punjab plains, and the

Fig. 24. 'Ask those two round hillocks, which receive pure dew drops, from the garland playing on the neck, and they will tell that thy soul is intent on the warfare of love.'

favourite salutation of his courtiers was 'May you get Lahore,' he was deprived of his conquests in the hills too. With ambition gone, and glory faded, he found solace in the company of Jamālo who entertained him with song and dance. He shut himself with Jamālo in the riverside palace at Nadaun, and the courtiers and visitors were asked to salute a *kāmal* tree at the entrance to the palace and to depart. The *kāmal* tree and the ruins of Jamālo's house are still pointed out to the visitors near the palace of the Rājā of Nadaun.

Nadaun was a gay place during the reign of Sansār Chand and there was a saying current in the Kangra Hills, 'Who will go away, once he comes to Nadaun?' This is explained by the fact that there were two hundred singing and dancing girls at Nadaun, and whoever came under the spell of these enchantresses never thought of leaving Nadaun. Sansār Chand also built a temple near the *maidān* at Tira-Sujanpur in honour of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Kṛishṇa's grandson was Aniruddha. Sansār Chand also named his heir apparent Aniruddha Chand. All these facts indicate what devotion Sansār Chand, the ardent Vaishṇava, had for Kṛishṇa. The most beautiful series of paintings on the Kṛishṇa theme were also painted under the patronage of Sansār Chand, such as the paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Bihārī's *Sat Saī* and Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda.*

After the death of Sansār Chand in December 1823, his son, Aniruddha Chand, became the Rājā of Kangra. However, he was Rājā only in name and had to go to the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore to pay tribute from time to time. In 1829, Aniruddha Chand paid a visit to Lahore with his family. He had with him his two sisters. Rājā Dhiān Singh of Jammu, who was the chief adviser to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, happened to see them, and he wanted Aniruddha Chand to marry them to his son Hirā Singh, a handsome boy who had become a great favourite at court. The pride of the hill chief was roused at the proposition of so degrading an alliance, but the influence



Fig. 25. 'Surely thou descendest from heaven, O slender damsel, and all the beauties of youthful goddesses are collected in thee.'

of Ranjit Singh procured from him a written promise that the two young women should be at his disposal. The mother of Aniruddha Chand, however, succeeded in carrying them off, and took refuge with them in the hills under British protection. Aniruddha Chand soon followed her, leaving his possessions on the other side of the Satluj at the mercy of Ranjit Singh, who sequestered the whole, and received the surrender of them without any resistance from Fateh Chand, Sansār Chand's brother. Gulāb Dāssī Gaddan, a concubine of Sansār Chand, was enticed away from the family, and fell on this occasion into Ranjit Singh's hands, with several children that she had borne to the late Rājā. Two of the daughters, Mahtab Devī and Rajbanso, Ranjit Singh married himself, and upon a son he conferred the title of Rājā of Nadaun.

Aniruddha Chand carried the best paintings from the collection of his father, including those of the *Gīta Govinda* and illustrations to Bihārī's *Sat Saī* along with his two sisters to Tehri-Garhwal. The two princesses were married to Rājā Sudarshan Shāh of Garhwal (1815–1859), and the paintings were given as a wedding dowry.

Kangra Paintings of the *Gīta Govinda*

We have already stated that Sansār Chand was a devotee of Kṛishṇa, and had great love and admiration for the religious literature of Vaishṇavism. That is why he encouraged his artists to illustrate themes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Bihārī's *Sat Saī*, and Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*. The Kangra master painters who illustrated the difficult, and often abstruse Sanskrit and Hindi texts were not mere artisans and craftsmen, but scholarly paṇḍits. They had good knowledge of Sanskrit, and they inscribed the verses they illustrated on the back of the paintings, and in the case of the *Gita Govinda* paintings also provided their translation in the Punjabi dialect of Kangra in Devanāgarī script.

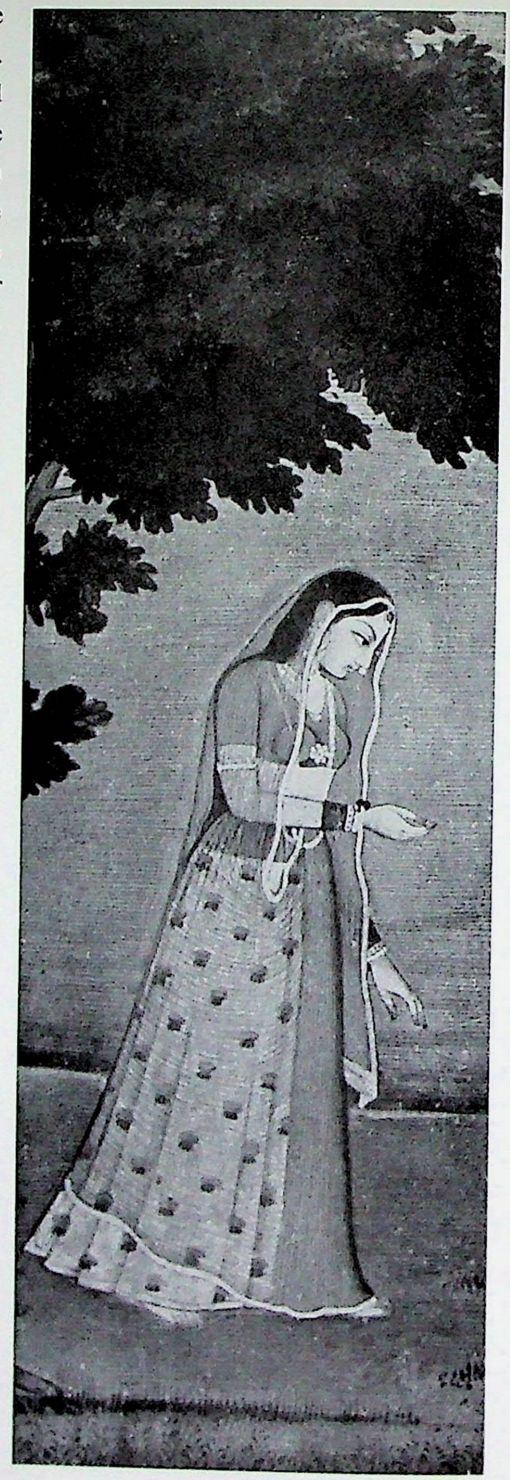


Fig. 26. Rādhā with timid joy entered the mystic bower.



Fig. 27. 'His azure breast glittered with pearls of unblemished lustre.'

Poetry and painting are very closely related. "Not only was the poetic sense, throughout the world and for many centuries, one of the elements of art, but over a long period painting was poetry's most favoured mode of expression,"[16] says Malraux, discussing the art of the Italian masters like Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Leonardo, Titian, and Michelangelo. In fact all great painting, whether of the East or the West, is steeped in poetry. Literary ideas and literary traditions play a great part in Chinese and Japanese art too. 'A picture is a voiceless poem, a poem is a vocal picture,' says a Chinese proverb. When the Kangra master painter Māṇak undertook the task of illustrating the text of the *Gīta Govinda*, he was in a very favourable situation. The sensuous poetry of the Bengali poet Jayadeva he expressed in the shape of beautiful landscape of the Kangra Valley to which he added the beauty of Kangra women. The background to the loves of Kṛishṇa, *gopīs* and Rādhā is provided by the undulating hills studded with mango groves, and gently flowing fresh-water streams, with crystal-clear water, on whose banks *sāras* cranes and egrets amble gracefully. The landscape is reminiscent of the hill country along the Beas river and its tributaries between Lambagraon and Tira-Sujanpur in the Kangra Valley. How fortunate was the artist who translated such delightful poetry into painting, and in the process created an art which is supremely beautiful!

The most admired theme of Kangra painting is female beauty, and its finest achievement is the Kangra female type with its gliding grace and finely chiselled face with a tender expression. While in the Christian art of Medieval Europe, it is woman the Mother, the Madonna suckling a babe who has been painted with reverence, in the Hindu art of the Kangra hills, it is woman the Beloved who has been painted with love and passion. The woman of Kangra art, with her warm sensuous face, eyes filled with passion, and delicate sensitive fingers, represents not the beauty of a particular woman, but the beauty of entire womanhood. In fact, she is there as the incarnation of all the beauty of the world and as a representative of the charm of her sex. Like the beauty of extraordinarily

beautiful women, the beauty of the Kangra female type enchants us! It is a beauty not all-physical, but quite spiritual!

Māṇak studied woman with keen observation, and reproduced every curve of her form, every turn of her head, and every glance of her eye. Here are women as beautiful as Rossetti's Lillith, with eyes opened only to see love! In these paintings we see woman in all her moods. We see her anxiously conversing with her confidantes. We see her pining in separation from her lover. We see her consumed with the fire of jealousy. We also see her full of joy when she meets her lover, with eyes full of love as a hind's in love-time. What a world of feeling we find revealed in these paintings—beauty of womanhood, love, passion, sorrow and joy! These paintings have life—life with its joyous impulses of body and spirit. You feel that these paintings are in fact a real part of yourself, and you cannot think of them separately from your personal love. In these paintings is mirrored the love of man and woman with a beauty and completeness which has no parallel in the art of any other country. Kangra art proclaims the gaiety and joy of love, and yet portrays the innocent charm of womanhood with restraint and dignity.

Walter Pater represents art as continually struggling after the law or principle of music, towards a condition which music alone completely realizes. Of the six canons of painting defined by the Chinese artist Hsieh Ho, the first and most important is rhythmic vitality, or spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life. Okakura calls it 'the Life-movement of the Spirit through the Rhythm of Things'. This was also recognized by Michaelangelo who observed, "Painting is a music and a melody which intellect alone can appreciate and that too with difficulty." Kangra art, when it is at its best is in fact colour music. It is an art, as Noguchi would call it 'hung as a web in the air of perfume, soft yet vivid, it sways in music'! A good example of the affinity which Kangra art has with music can be seen in a number of paintings of the *Gīta Govinda*, particularly in Plate XVII. This painting possesses that tender simplicity, romantic beauty and lyrical grace which are characteristic of Kangra art. Kṛishṇa and Rādhā are seated in a glade beside the Yamunā. He is placing on Rādhā's ear an ear-ring studded with pearls with great tenderness. The swirling current between the two rounded hillocks is symbolic of the passion of the lovers and the gentle curves of the hillocks suggestive of the soft contours of the female body. There is beautiful sentiment in the whole composition; the rhythmic current of the rivulet, and the gently undulating hills create a limpid flowing harmony like Mozart's music.

In spite of the lapse of about two centuries, these paintings still retain their sparkling colours. The artists used pure mineral dyes which were carefully and laboriously ground. The freshness of their colours is also partly explained by the fact that they were never framed and hung upon walls. In fact they are portfolio pictures which were taken out of the family chest on special occasions only. They were viewed in a state of grace, and after admiring their beauty, were wrapped in embroidered pieces of cloth and re-placed in the chest.

As the artist was illustrating a poem which describes the beauty of the countryside, he made a lavish use of pure blue and green colours. Blues and greens suggest peacefulness and rest. How the pure blue of the sky, symbolic of infinity, creates a feeling of the sublime, and we soar



Fig. 28. The arbours resound with the love-calls of papīhās.

into a higher realm of beauty! Rich green of the grassy swards and trees is so soothing to the eyes! Pure colour is indeed the repose of the heart!

In these paintings one sees deep love of Nature. Kangra artists who created them lived in the villages of Alampur, Sujanpur, and Nadaun on the Beas. In the quiet of their neat little huts, buried in the groves of bamboos, mangoes, and plantains, they were in communion with the spirit of Nature. That is why their paintings breathe the peace and beauty of Nature. Plates II and III which depict the season of spring communicate a vivid and intense joy in flowers and forest trees.

In Plate IV is shown the beauty of spring. It seems as if the artist has identified himself with the inner consciousness of Nature in her gayest mood. The hills covered with green grass are dotted with clumps of mangoes. Clasping the dark mango and *tamāla* trees are flowering creepers. Resting in the dark foliage of the trees are pairs of love-birds. In the centre of the painting is Kṛishṇa with a tall and beautiful *gopī*. How intimately the figures are related to the background! The mountains, the trees, the birds and the lovers are woven into such a harmonious composition, that you feel the unity and continuity of life. The forms of the trees are painted with a great sense of decorative effect, and the vivid contrast of dark and light green colours conveys the warmth and brightness of the spring season. In this picture we feel the soft-tinted spring in the Kangra Valley, the verdure of its rounded hillocks, the murmur of its streams, and the shimmer of its silver air.

Plate VI is another joyful picture of spring time. Kṛishṇa is surrounded by a crowd of *gopīs* dressed in colourful clothes. He is touching the chin of one with affection, and is fondly embracing another. The *gopīs* are gazing at Kṛishṇa with thirsty eyes like the moon-birds at the

full moon. To all this gaiety, contrast is provided by the figure of the heart-broken Rādhā shown in a corner with her companion. The dark crowns of the trees are decorated with white flowers of creepers, and the ground is carpeted with colourful flowering plants. This painting expresses the beauty, joy, and radiance of the spring in the Kangra Valley, and in it we see a perfect rhythm of colour music.

Another fact which strikes us in these landscapes is that they are drawn from memory and not direct from Nature. Hence, superfluous details are omitted, and only an abstract of the beauty of the hills, the rivers, and the forests is given. As observed by Laurence Binyon in Persian painting: "The intricacy and profusion of Nature is reduced to a few chosen plants, which the artist isolates in vision, and portrays minutely and distinctly." The treatment of landscape and vegetation in these paintings is of a similar nature.

The landscape is not merely a pleasant background to the loves of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa but is highly symbolic. The dark clouds, the blue river, the sombre forests of *tamāla* trees, flowering shrubs and creepers are signs and symbols of Kṛishṇa and his favourite haunts in Vṛindāvana. It is said that Chaitanya, the Vaishṇava saint and apostle, often fell into a mystic trance at the sight of dark blue clouds, which reminded him of Kṛishṇa. He regarded lightning as his orange robe. The music of birds he regarded as the sound of his flute. The skeins of cranes beating the air with pure white wings seen against the background of dark blue clouds, he regarded as the garland of white flowers decorating the breast of his dark blue god. "At the sight of every hillock he fell into a trance, reminded of the Govardhana hills where Kṛishṇa had sported, and every river showed him the ripples of the Yamunā on the banks of which the pastoral god had played with his fellow cowherds. The flowers reminded him of the beauties of Kṛishṇa's eyes and he wept when he touched them, reminded of the divine touch, soft and sweet. Sometimes the smell of flowers emanating from the Puri temple kept him fixed to the spot like a picture; he thought that his Kṛishṇa was approaching and the scent of a thousand flowers announced his approach, and he trembled in deep emotion with tearful eyes and passed into a trance."[17] It is in the same spirit of love and religious ecstasy which Chaitanya experienced that the Kangra artist painted the hills, rivers, forests and birds in his paintings of the *Gīta Govinda.*

Night effects have a special attraction for Māṇak. Here are visions of beauty and love glowing upon the darkness of the night. In Plate I, the scene is a nocturne, and the theme is the first meeting of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in a grove by the river bank. In the dark forest of *tamāla* trees, the radiant figures of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa provide a delightful contrast. The palmyra palms, with fan-shaped leaves and tall and straight trunks, contrast with the sinuous *tamālas*. They provide an accent which breaks the monotony of the forest in a refreshing manner. The soft shadows cast by the trees in starlight are also shown by the artist. The shyness and modesty of Rādhā and the affection of Kṛishṇa are elegantly depicted. One of the noblest creations of the Kangra artists, this painting is a poem in form and colour, suffused with the aroma of love, which is so characteristic of the song of Jayadeva. Undoubtedly, it is one of the most beautiful of the *Gīta Govinda* series.

Plate IX depicts another night scene. Rādhā is standing at the edge of the grove. Her arms are stretched out as if she is embracing the darkness of the night, whom she regards as Kṛishṇa. The sky is inky blue, dotted with silvery stars. In the distance is Kṛishṇa seated on a green hillock, and Rādhā's messenger is explaining how her mistress is pining away because of the pain of separation from him. The colour is glorious, a wonderful soft blue. The transparent drapery of the messenger and the yellow wrap of Kṛishṇa provide such a pleasant contrast with the darkness of the night. In the foreground is the swirling current of the Yamunā, symbolic of the storm raging in Rādhā's mind. In this painting, one can also see perspective, which is usually not found in the miniatures of the Kangra School.

Plates XII to XV illustrate anecdotes from Cantos XI–XII in which Jayadeva describes the meeting and union of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. In Plate XII wonderfully harmonious are the contrasts of tone and colour. The radiant personality of blue-bodied Kṛishṇa, wearing a garland of white flowers, and a golden crown, provides a happy contrast to the gloom of the *tamāla* trees. The shyness and modesty of Rādhā, escorted by her female companion, contrasts with the eagerness of Kṛishṇa who is looking at her with longing eyes. The artist has imbibed the solemn mysterious beauty of the night, and he makes us feel its romance.

These paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* are the finest Kangra paintings in existence, and represent Kangra art at its best. They have a strange dream-like beauty, and have an air of tenderness and refinement. Their line has the rhythmic beauty of the swirling current of the Beas, and of flowing lianas clasping the trunks of the giant trees. In them we breathe the fragrance of the forests of the Kangra Valley. No doubt, they are the product of a very refined mind which was extremely sensitive to the beauty of Nature and female form. In them the Kangra ideal of female beauty, willowy, serene and passionate, finds its best expression. They pulsate with poetic feeling and have the same wildflower aroma which breathes in Jayadeva's exquisite woodland pastoral, and they fully justify Archer's observation that "Kangra artists accomplished the supremely difficult task of translating poetry into painting, creating in the process a type of art, which, if literary in origin, transcends literature in ultimate achievement."[18]

PLATES

PLATE I

THUS AROSE THE LOVE OF RĀDHĀ AND KṚISHṆA

The painting illustrates the opening lines of the *Gīta Govinda* in which Jayadeva describes how the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa began.

Meghairmeduramambaraṁ vanabhuvaḥ śyāmāstamāladrumair-
Naktaṁ bhīrurayaṁ tvameva tadimaṁ Rādhe! gṛihaṁ prāpaya;
Itthaṁ Nandanideśataśchalitayoḥ pratyadhvakuñjadrumaṁ
Rādhāmādhavayorjayanti yamunākūle rahaḥ kelayaḥ.

"The sky is overcast by thick clouds. The woodlands are black with *tamāla* trees. This boy Kṛishṇa is afraid of the gloom of the night. So, O Rādhā, take him home." Such was the command of Nanda, the herdsman. Thus arose the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa who, as they passed through the forest, sported in the bowers on the bank of the Yamunā.



PLATE II

THE SPORTS OF KṚISHṆA WITH DAMSELS IN SPRING TIME

Canto I of the *Gita Govinda* opens with a delightful description of spring. Rādhā was in search of Kṛishṇa. Her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire; she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *vāsantis* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her:

Rāga Vasanta, Yatitāla

Lalitalavaṅgalatāpariśīlanakomalamalayasamīre
Madhukaranikarakaraṁbitakokilakūjitakuñjakuṭīre;
Viharati haririha sarasavasante
Nṛityati yuvatijanena samaṁ sakhi virahijanasya durante.

"The breeze, that has wantoned round the delicate clove plants, breathes from the southern Malaya hills. The arbours resound with the notes of the *koel* and the buzzing of bees. In this lovely spring, when love cannot endure separation, Hari is enjoying himself and is dancing with young damsels. (Friend Rādhā, go and seek him.)"

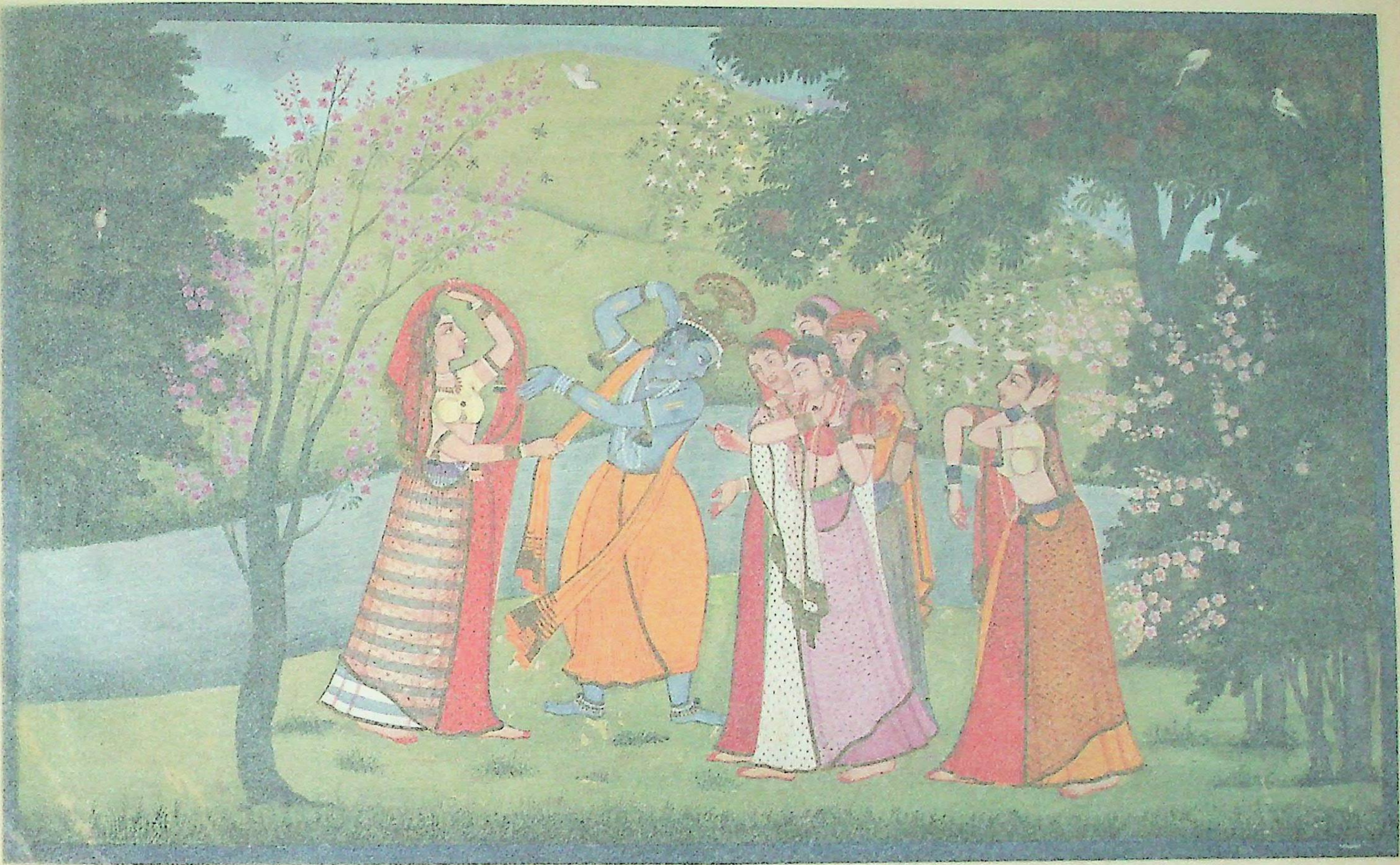


PLATE II

THE SPORTS OF KRISHṆA WITH DAMSELS IN SPRING TIME

Canto I of the *Gita Govinda* opens with a delightful description of spring. Rādhā was in search of Krishna. Her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire; she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *nikunjas* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her:

Rāga Vasanta. Yatitāla

Lalitalavangalataparisīlanakomalamalayasamire
Madhukaranikarakarambitakokilakūjitakuñjakuṭire;
Viharati haririha sarasavasante
Nṛityati yuvatijanena samaṁ sakhi virahijanasya durante.

"The breeze, that has wantoned round the delicate clove plants, breathes from the southern Malaya hills. The arbours resound with the notes of the *koel* and the buzzing of bees. In this lovely spring, when love-crossed endure separation, Hari is enjoying himself and is dancing with young damsels. (Friend Rādhā, go and seek him.)"



PLATE III

THE MANGO QUIVERS WITH THE JOY OF LOVE

Beautiful Rādhā, jasmine-bosomed Rādhā
All in the Spring-time waited by the wood
For Kṛishṇa fair, Kṛishṇa the all-forgetful,—
Kṛishṇa with earthly love's false fire consuming.[19]

Another delightful illustration of the joy of spring from Canto I, it shows Rādhā seated on the bank of the Yamunā, listening to the speech of her female companion. The ground is carpeted with flowers, and the shrubs and trees are laden with blossoms. Every branch upon the *vakula* tree droops downwards with a hundred blooms, and in every bloom is a bee. The *tamāla*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk, which it vanquishes. The full-blown blossoms of *kesara* gleam like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love. The orange tree, shivering with joy in its full white blossom, seems to laugh at the pain of those who are still pining in love! The pointed leaves of the *keorā* resemble the darts of Kāma, piercing the hearts of lovers. The bunches of pink *pāṭali* flowers are filled with bees, like the quiver of Smara full of shafts. The tender blossoms of the *garuṇā* smile to see the whole world laying shame aside, and from white blush modest red. The far-scented *mādhavī* beautifies the mango trees round which it twines and pours incense through the grove. And the fresh silken-soft *mallikā* seduces with rich perfume even the hearts of the hermits.

The painting illustrates the following verse:

Unmīlanmadhugandhalubdhamadhupavyādhūtachūtāṅkura-
Krīḍatkokilakākalikalaravairudgīrṇakarṇajvarāḥ;
Nīyante pathikaiḥ kathaṁkathamapi dhyānāvadhānakshaṇa-
Prāptaprāṇasamāsamāgamarasollāsairamī vāsarāḥ.

The *sakhī* diverts Rādhā's attention to the mango trees in heavy bloom:

"These spring time days are hard to get through. The ears are in a feverish state, for they are continuously and cruelly struck by the joyful melodies that the *koel* trills forth from the blossoming branches of the mango, which are shaken by the bees attracted by their honey and fragrance. Now the hearts of lonely travellers, who are away from their mates, are pierced with anguish, and derive satisfaction from a dreamy vision of embrace with their sweethearts.



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Krishna with earthly love's false fire consuming.[38]

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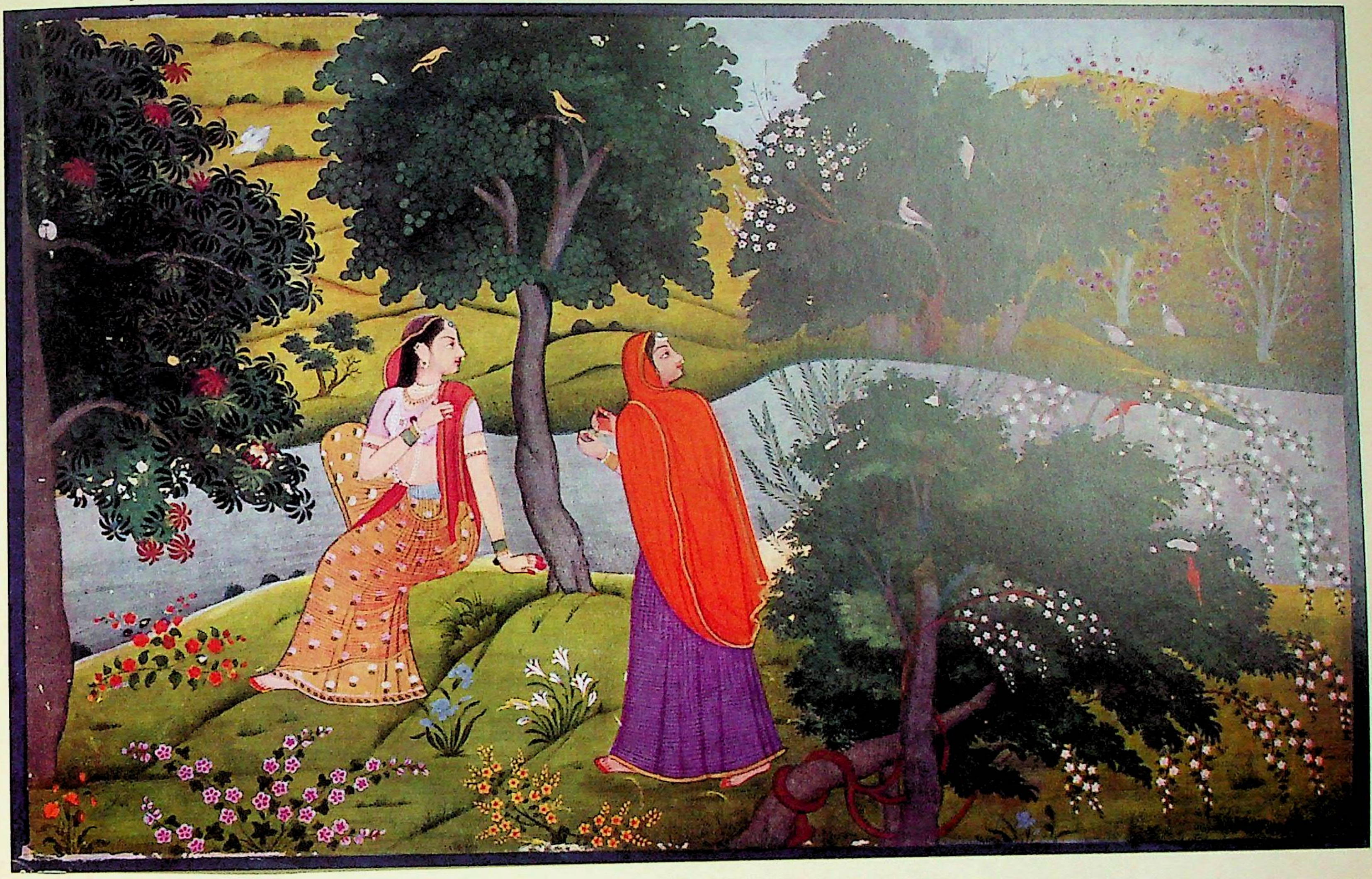


PLATE IV

THE FRENZY OF LOVE

This is another delightful illustration of Canto I showing the sports of Kṛishṇa in spring. The dark mango trees, clasped by gay flowering creepers quivering with joy, burst out in tender purple shoots. Resting in the dark foliage of trees are pairs of love birds. In the centre is Kṛishṇa wearing a garland of wild flowers descending to the mantle that girds his azure body.

The painting illustrates the following verse:

Pīnapayodharabhārabhareṇa hariṁ parirabhya sarāgam;
Gopavadhūranugāyati kāchidudañchitapañchamarāgam.

"A *gopī* presses Hari passionately with her swelling breasts, and bursts out in a frenzy of amorous song in the *pañchama* note."



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PLATE V

LOVE PLAY OF KṚISHṆA

This is another illustration of the sports of Kṛishṇa in spring time from Canto II. Kṛishṇa exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels. One of them presses him with her swelling breast, another, love-frenzied by a glance from his eye, has fixed her gaze on his lotus face. A third, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. Now he caresses one, kisses another, and smiles on a third with complacency.

The painting illustrates the following verse in which Rādhā, burnt with jealousy, recounts the frolics of Kṛishṇa with the *gopis:*

Gopakadambanitambavatīmukhachumbanalambhitalobham;
Bandhujīvamadhurādharapallavamullasitasmitaśobham.

"My mind goes back to Hari in the woodland. There he had contracted a fondness for kissing youthful *gopis*. There Hari's face was brightened by radiant smiles that played on his impassioned lips, delicate as a sprout."

The tree to the left is *Bauhinea variegata,* which is common in the Kangra Valley.

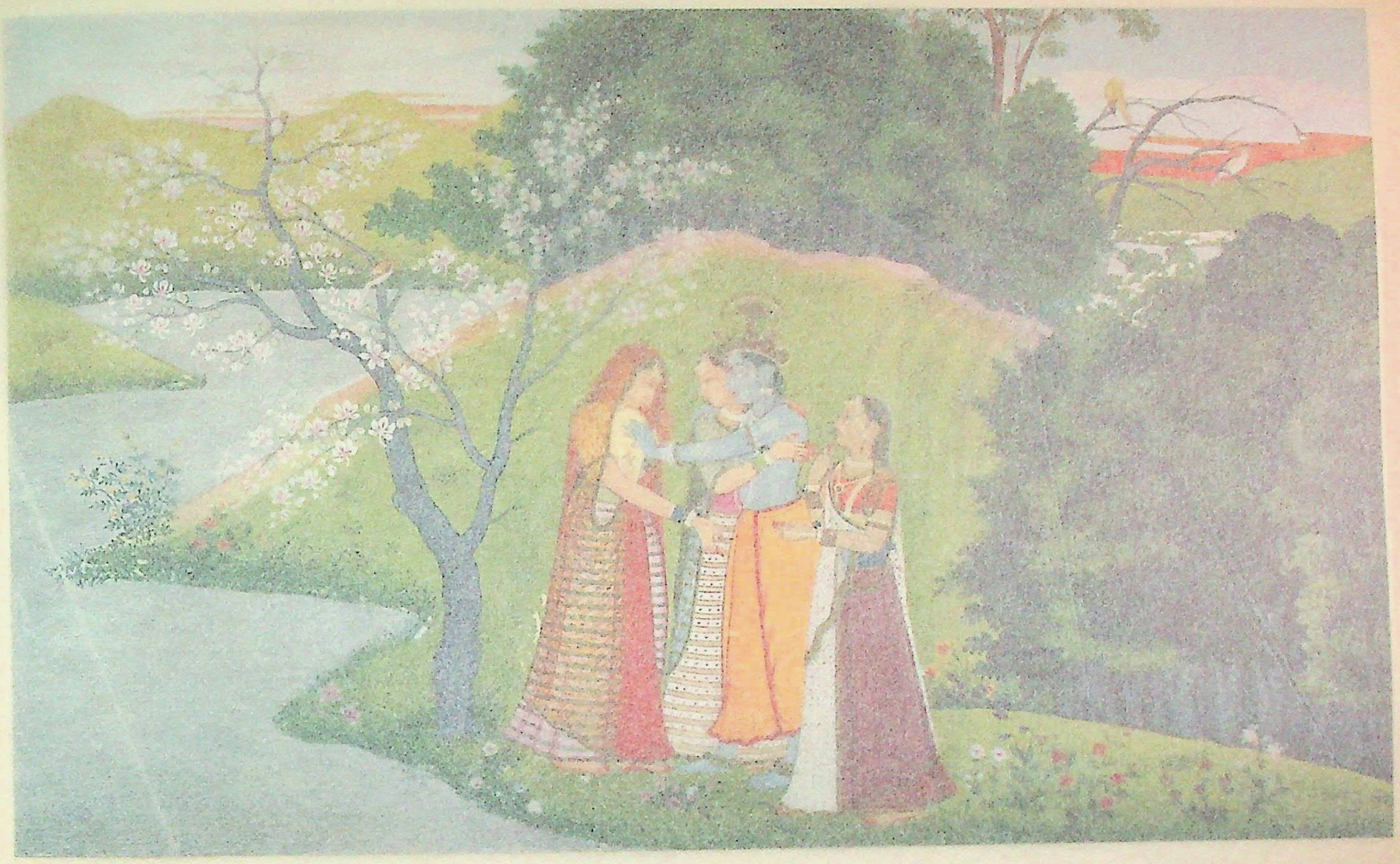


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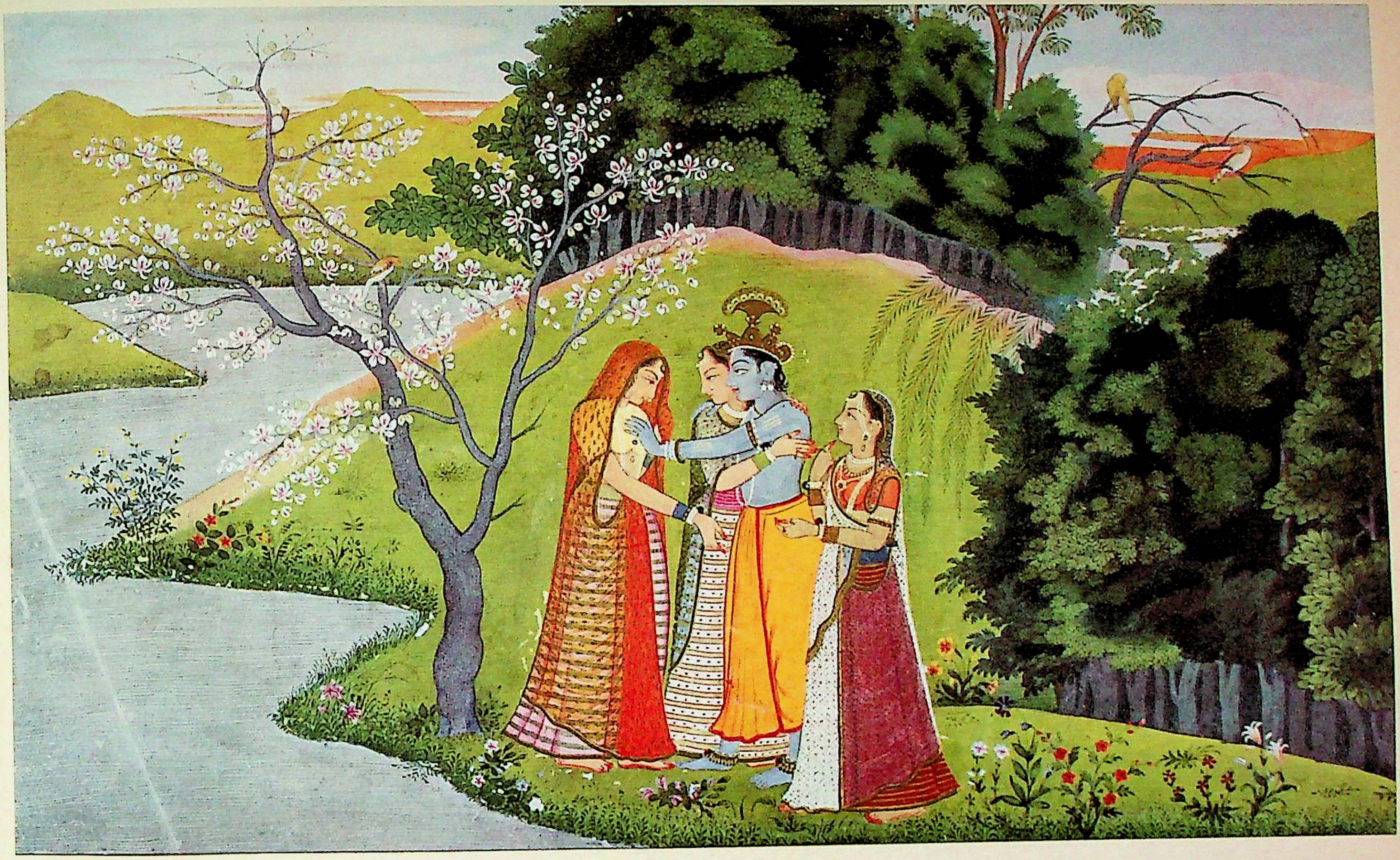


PLATE VI

THE LONGINGS OF RĀDHĀ

Thus lingered Kṛishṇa in the deep, green wood,
And gave himself, too prodigal, to those;
But Rādhā, heart-sick at his falling-off,
Seeing her heavenly beauty slighted so,
Withdrew; and, in a bower of Paradise —
Where nectareous blossoms wove a shrine of shade,
Haunted by birds and bees of unknown skies —
She sat deep-sorrowful![20]

Rādhā thus addresses her female companion: "Though he takes recreation in my absence, and smiles on all around him, yet my soul remembers him, whose beguiling flute modulates a tune sweetened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while his ear sparkles with gems, and his eye darts amorous glances. I meditate on him, whose body is the colour of the purple cloud, adorned with the rainbow in the sky, whose tresses are embellished with peacock feathers that ripple with a hundred crescents."

"I meditate on him whose mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illumined with rainbow. Him, whose graceful smile gives new lustre to his lips, brilliant and soft as a dewy leaf, sweet and ruddy as the blossom of the *bandhujīva*, while they tremble with eagerness to kiss the daughters of the herdsmen."

The painting illustrates the following verse in which Rādhā says:

Gaṇayati guṇagrāmaṁ bhrāmaṁ bhramādapi nehate;
Vahati cha parītoshaṁ doshaṁ vimuñchati dūrataḥ.
Yuvatishu valattṛishṇe kṛishṇe vihāriṇi māṁ vinā;
Punarapi mano vāmaṁ kāmaṁ karoti karomi kim.

"In spite of the fact that Kṛishṇa sports with other damsels and has ignored me, I think of his virtues only. My mind does not forget him for a moment, and ignoring his faults, I still love him."

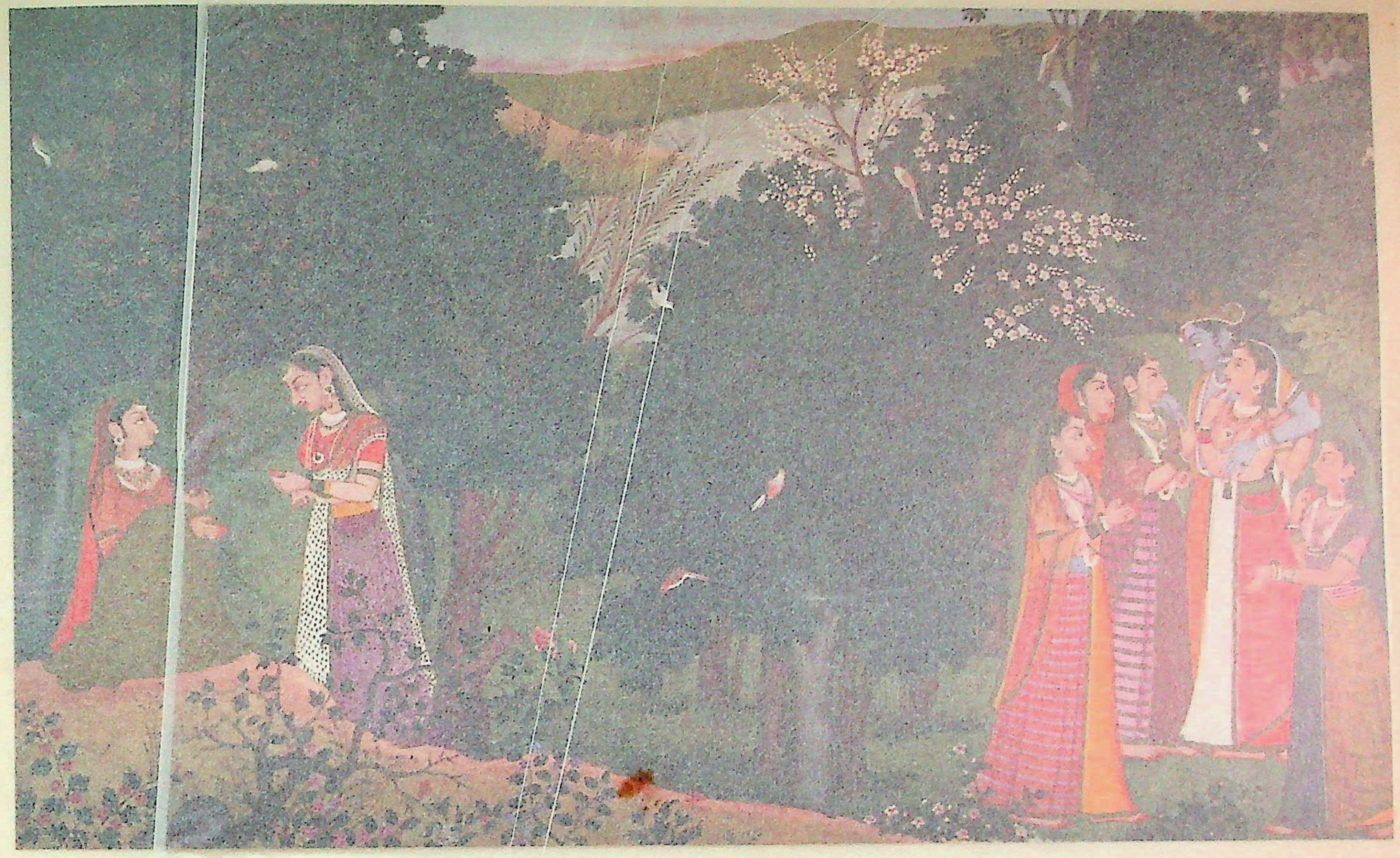


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PLATE VII

MEMORIES OF LOVE

Thinking of Kṛishṇa, thus soliloquises Rādhā:

"I meditate on him, who disperses the gloom with beams from the jewels, which decorate his bosom, his wrists, and his ankles. I meditate on him, upon whose blue forehead the sandal-*tilaka* shines more softly than the moon in the sky, and who swells the bosoms of a hundred brides with his love. His figure moves in all hearts, and his touch fills life with passion."

"Bring him, who formerly drew me by the locks to his embrace, to repose with me, whose feet tinkle, as they move, with rings of gold and gems, whose loosened zone sounds, as it falls; and whose limbs are slender and flexible as the creeping plant."

The painting illustrates the first love encounter of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in a bower. Recollecting her love for Kṛishṇa thus reflects Rādhā:

Prathamasamāgamalajjitayā paṭuchāṭuśatairanukūlaṁ;
Mṛidumadhurasmitabhāshitayā śithilīkṛitajaghanadukūlam.

"It was our first meeting. I was shy. But Kṛishṇa spoke tender and flattering words by the hundred. I responded with a soft smile and sweet prattle. And he loosened my garment."



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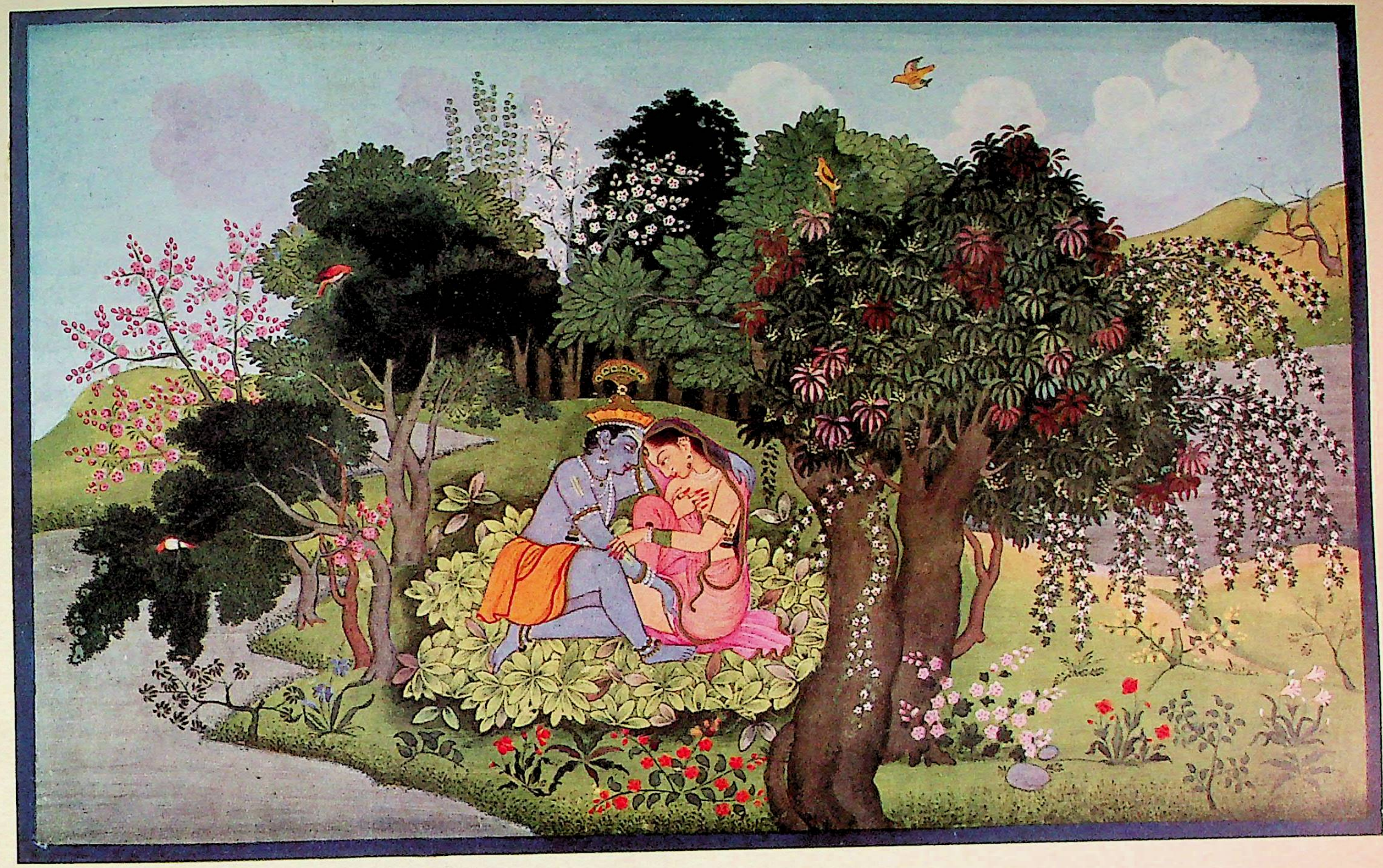


PLATE VIII

THE SORROW OF KṚISHṆA

Say I am here! oh, if she pardons me,
Say where I am, and win her softly hither.
So Kṛishṇa to the maid; and willingly
She came again to Rādhā.[21]

"Here have I chosen my abode: go quickly to Rādhā; soothe her with my message, and conduct her hither." So spoke Kṛishṇa to the anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed Rādhā: "Whilst a sweet breeze blows from the hills of Malayagiri, the young God of Desire comes wafting on it; while many a flower points its extended petals to pierce the bosom of separated lovers, the Deity crowned with sylvan blossoms, laments, O friend, in thy absence. Even the dewy rays of the moon burn him; and, as the shaft of love is descending, he mourns inarticulately with increasing distraction."

This painting illustrates the following verse from Canto V of the *Gīta Govinda:*

Dhvanati madhupasamūhe śravaṇamapidadhāti;
Manasi kalitavirahe niśi-niśi rujamupayāti.

"When the bees murmur softly, he covers his ears; misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish."



PLATE VIII

THE SORROW OF KRISHṆA

"[illegible] go quickly to Rādhā, soothe her with my message, and conduct her hither," [illegible] who hastened back, and thus addressed Rādhā: "[illegible] from the hills of Malayagiri, the young God of Desire [illegible] petals to pierce the bosom of separated lovers. [illegible], O friend, in thy absence. Even the dewy [illegible] he mourns inarticulately with [illegible]."

This painting [illegible] verse from Canto V of the *Gita Govinda:*

"[illegible] fixed in his heart, and every [illegible]."

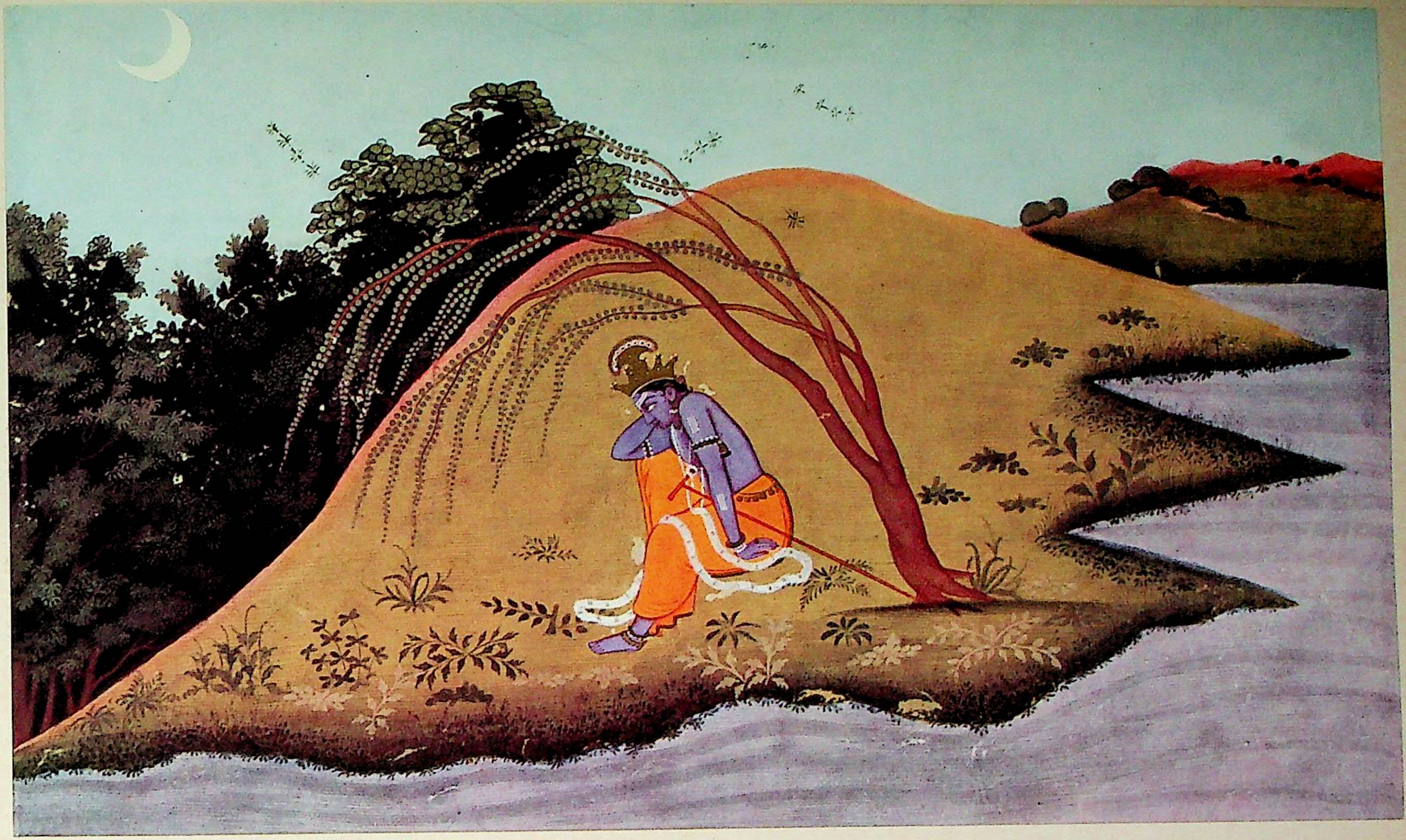


PLATE IX

RĀDHĀ EMBRACES THE DARKNESS OF THE NIGHT

But seeing that, for all her loving will,
The flower-soft feet of Rādhā had not power
To leave their place and go, she sped again —
That maiden — and to Kṛishṇa's eager ears
Told how it fared with his sweet mistress there.[22]

This is an illustration of the following lines from Canto VI of the *Gita Govinda:*

Vihitaviśadabisakisalayavalayā;
Jīvati paramiha tava ratikalayā.
Muhuravalokitamaṇḍanalīlā;
Madhuripurahamiti bhāvanaśīlā.
Tvaritamupaiti na kathamabhisāram;
Haririti vadati sakhīmanuvāram.
Ślishyati chumbati jaladharakalpam;
Harirupagata iti timiramanalpam.
Bhavati vilambini vigalitalajjā;
Vilapati roditi vāsakasajjā.
Śrījayadevakaveridamuditam;
Rasikajanaṁ tanutāmatimuditam.

The damsel perceiving that Rādhā was too weak to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to Govinda, who was himself mad with love, and thus described her situation. "She mourns, O sovereign of the world, in her verdant bower; she looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach; then, gaining strength from the delightful idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few steps, and falls languid on the ground. When she rises, she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she dresses herself like her beloved, and, looking at herself in sport, exclaims, 'Behold the vanquisher of Madhu!' Then repeats again and again the name of Hari, and embraces the darkness of the night saying: 'It is my beloved who approaches!' "



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Jivati paramiha tava ratikalayā.
Muhuravalokitamaṇḍanalilā;
Madhuripurahamiti bhāvanaśilā.
Tvaritamupaiti na kathamabhisāram;
Haririti vadati sakhīmanuvāram.
Ślishyati chumbati jaladharakalpam;
Harirupagata iti timiramanalpam.
Bhavati vilambini vigalitalajjā;
Vilapati roditi vāsakasajjā.
Śrījayadevakaveridamuditam;
Rasikajanaṁ tanutāmatimuditam.

The damsel perceiving that Rādhā was too weak to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to Govinda, who was himself mad with love, and thus described her situation. "She mourns, O sovereign of the world, in her verdant bower; she looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach; then, gaining strength from the delightful idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few steps, and falls languid on the ground. When she rises, she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she dresses herself like her beloved, and, looking at herself in sport, exclaims, 'Behold the vanquisher of Madhu!' Then repeats again and again the name of Hari, and embraces the darkness of the night saying: 'It is my beloved who approaches!'"



PLATE X

THE SORROW OF RĀDHĀ

Meantime the moon, the rolling moon, clomb high,
And over all Vṛindāvana it shone;
The moon which on the front of gentle night
Gleams like the *chandana*-mark on beauty's brow;
The conscious moon which hath its silver face
Marred with the shame of lighting earthly loves.[23]

In Canto VII is described the sorrow of Rādhā who waits in vain for Kṛishṇa. Seated on the bank of the Yamunā, thus soliloquises Rādhā:

"The appointed moment is come; but Hari, alas! comes not to the grove. Must the season of my unblemished youth pass thus idly away? Oh! what refuge can I seek, deluded as I am by the guile of my female adviser? The God with five arrows has wounded my heart; and I am deserted by Him, for whose sake I have sought at night the darkest recess of the forest. The sky is still, the forest sleeps, Kṛishṇa forgets—he loves me no more. Since my best beloved friends have deceived me, it is my wish to die: since my senses are disordered, and my bosom is on fire, why stay I longer in this world?

"The coolness of this vernal night gives me pain, instead of refreshment.

"O moon! (she sang) that art so pure and pale, is Kṛishṇa wane like thee with lonely waiting? O lamp of love! art thou the lover's friend, and wilt not bring O faithless Kṛishṇa! I have striven in vain."

The painting illustrates the following verse:

Prasarati śaśadharabimbe vihitavilambe cha mādhave vidhurā;
Virachitavividhavilāpaṁ sā paritāpaṁ chakārochchaiḥ.

And while the round white lamp of earth rose higher,
And still he tarried, Rādhā, petulant,
Sang soft impatience and half-earnest fears:

Characterized by simplicity of composition, and accurate balance, this painting is a masterpiece. The boulders shown in the foreground are very characteristic of the Kangra Valley.

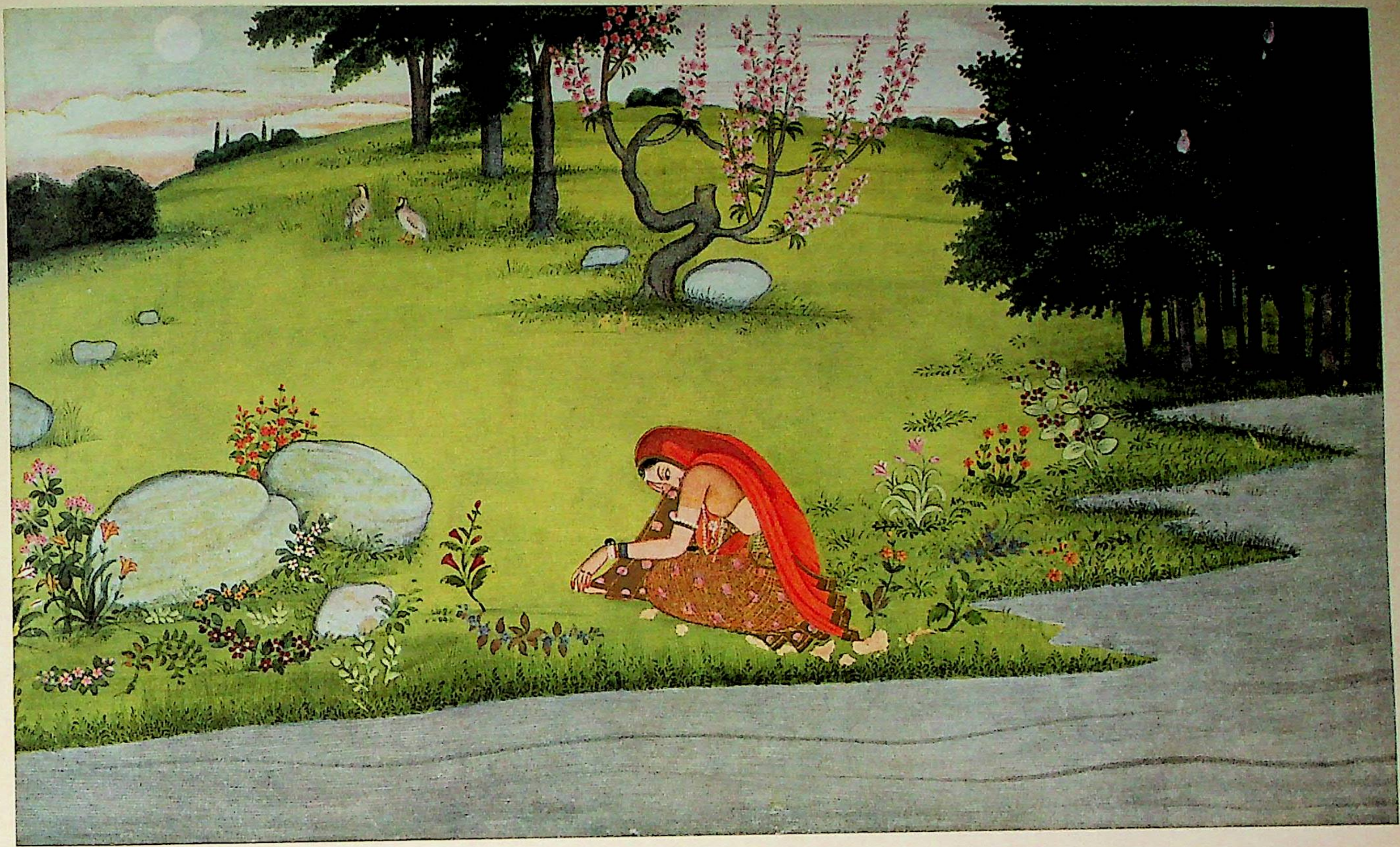


PLATE XI

THE MAGIC OF KṚISHṆA'S FLUTE

O rare voice, which is a spell
Unto all on earth who dwell!
O rich voice of rapturous love,
Making melody above!
Kṛishṇa's, Hari's one in two,
Sound these mortal verses through!
Sound like that soft flute which made
Such a magic in the shade
Calling deer-eyed maidens nigh,
Waking wish and stirring sigh,
Thrilling blood and melting breasts,
Whispering love's divine unrests.[24]

This is an illustration of the following lines of the *Gīta Govinda* from Canto VIII:

Antarmohanamaulighūrṇanachalanmandāravibhraṁśana-
Stambhākarshaṇadṛiptiharshaṇamahāmantraḥ kuraṅgidṛiśām.
Dṛipyaddānavadūyamānadivishaddurvāraduḥkhāpadām;
Bhraṁśaḥ kaṁsariporvipolayatu vaḥ śreyāṁsi vaṁśiravaḥ.

"The sound of Kṛishṇa's flute charms the entire creation, animate as well as inanimate. The deer-eyed *gopīs* of Vraja are so fascinated therewith that *mandāra* flowers which decorate their coiffure fall. May the sound of Kṛishṇa's flute, the enemy of Kaṁsa and saviour of gods, bless you all!"



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PLATE XII

ENTER, SWEET RĀDHĀ, THE BOWER OF HARI

So came she where he sat awaiting her
At the bower's entry, like a god to see,
With marriage-gladness and the grace of heaven.
The great pearl set upon his glorious head
Shone like a moon among the leaves, and shone
Like stars the gems that kept her gold gown close;
But still a little while she paused — abashed
At her delight, of her deep joy afraid.[25]

This is an illustration of the following lines from Canto XI of the *Gīta Govinda:*

Hārāvalītaralakāñchanakāñchidāma-
Keyūrakaṅkaṇamaṇidyutidīpitasya.
Dvāre nikuñjanilayasya hariṁ nirīkshya;
Vrīḍāvatīmatha sakhīmiyamityuvācha.

Mañjutarakuñjatalakelisadane;
Vilasa ratirabhasahasitavadane!
Praviśa Rādhe! Mādhavasamīpamiha.

Navabhavadaśokadalaśayanasāre;
Vilasa kuchakalaśataralahāre!

Kusumachayarachitaśuchivāsagehe;
Vilasa kusumasukumāradehe.

Noticing Hari at the entrance of the bower, Rādhā, who decked herself with beaming ornaments, felt abashed. But her *sakhī* thus exhorted her:

"Enter, sweet Rādhā, the bower of Mādhava; seek delight, O thou, whose bosom laughs with the foretaste of happiness. Enter, sweet Rādhā, the bower graced with a bed of *aśoka* leaves; seek delight, O thou, whose garland leaps with joy on thy breast. Enter, sweet Rādhā, the bower illumined with gay blossoms; seek delight, O thou, whose limbs far excel them in softness."



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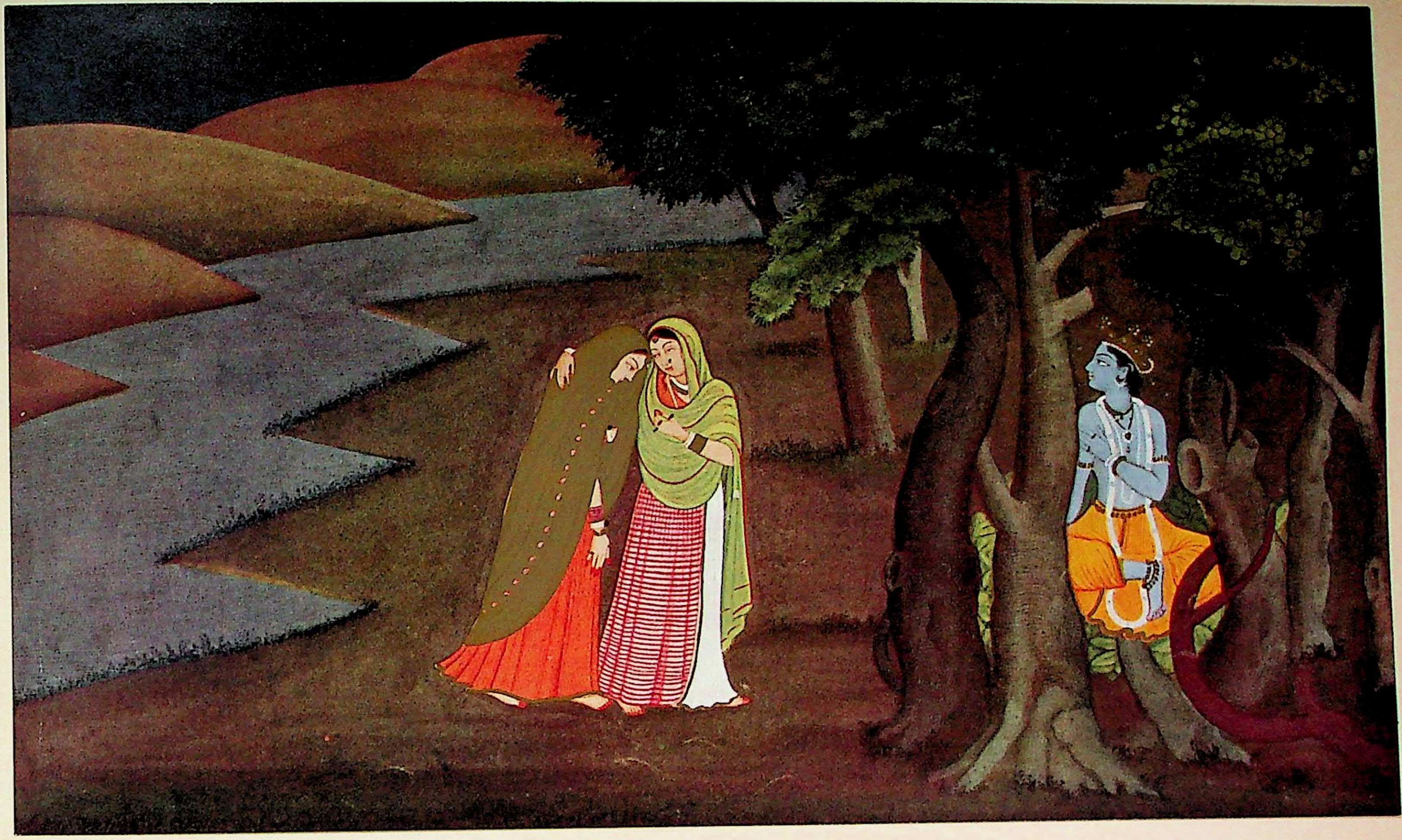


PLATE XIII

RĀDHĀ ENTERS THE BOWER OF GOVINDA

This picture illustrates the following lines from Canto XI of the *Gita Govinda:*

Sā sasādhvasasānandaṁ govinde lolalochanā;
Siñjānamañjumañjīraṁ pravivesābhivesanam.

Rādhāvadanavilokanavikasitavividhavikāravibhaṅgam;
Jalanidhimiva vidhumaṇḍaladarśanataralitatuṅgataraṅgam.

Harimekarasaṁ chiramabhilashitavilāsam;
Sā dadarśa guruharshavaśaṁvadavadanamanaṅganivāsam.

Rādhā with timid joy, fixing her eyes on Govinda, while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone, entered the mystic bower of her only beloved.

There she beheld Mādhava who delighted in her alone; who so long had sighed for her embrace; and whose countenance then gleamed with excessive rapture; his heart was agitated by her sight, and like the mighty deep which sees the moon and rises, all his life uprose to drink her beams.

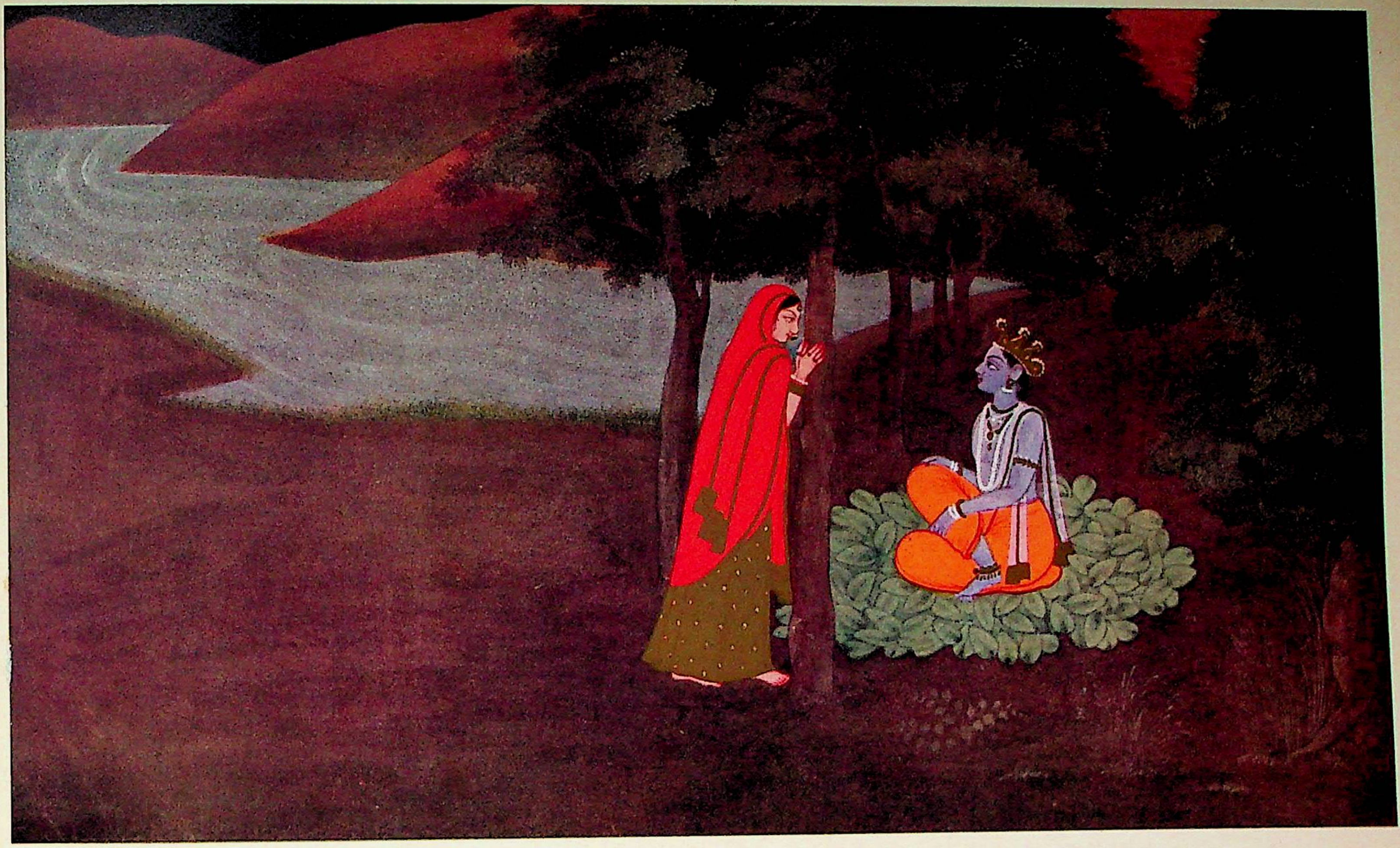


PLATE XIV

THE UNION OF RĀDHĀ AND KṚISHṆA

Then she, no more delaying, entered straight;
Her step a little faltered, but her face
Shone with unutterable quick love; and while
The music of her bangles passed the porch —
Shame, which had lingered in her downcast eyes,
Departed shamed . . . and like the mighty deep,
Which sees the moon and rises, all his life
Uprose to drink her beams.[26]

The painting illustrates the following verse from Canto XII of the *Gīta Govinda:*

Gatavati sakhīvṛindemandatrapābharanirbhara-
Smaraparavaśākūtasphītasmitasnapitādharām.
Sarasamanasaṁ dṛishṭvā Rādhāṁ muhurnavapallava-
Prasavaśayane nikshiptākshīmuvācha Hariḥ priyām.

Kisalayaśayanatale kuru kāmini! charaṇanalinavinivеśam;
Tava padapallavavairiparābhavamidamanubhavatu suveśam.

Tears of joy gushed in a stream from the full eyes of Rādhā and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had lingered in her downcast eyes was itself ashamed and departed, when the fawn-eyed Rādhā, gazed on the brightened face of Kṛishṇa, while she passed by the soft edge of his couch and the bevy of her attendant nymphs warily retired from the bower.

Govinda, seeing his beloved cheerful, her lips sparkling with smiles, and her eyes speaking desire, thus eagerly addressed her; while she carelessly reclined on the leafy bed strewn with soft blossoms: "Set the lotus of thy foot on this azure bosom; and let this couch be victorious over all, who rebel against love."



PLATE XIV

THE UNION OF RĀDHĀ AND KRISHṆA

Then she, no more delaying, entered straight;
Her step a little faltered, but her face
Shone with unutterable quick love; and while
The music of her bangles passed the porch —
Shame, which had lingered in her downcast eyes,
Departed shamed . . . and like the mighty deep,
Which sees the moon and rises, all his life
Uprose to drink her beams.*

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Prasavaśayane nikṣiptākṣīmuvāca Hariḥ priyām.

Kisalayaśayanatale kuru kāmini caraṇanalinaviniveśam;
Tava padapallavavairiparābhavamidamanubhavatu suveśam.

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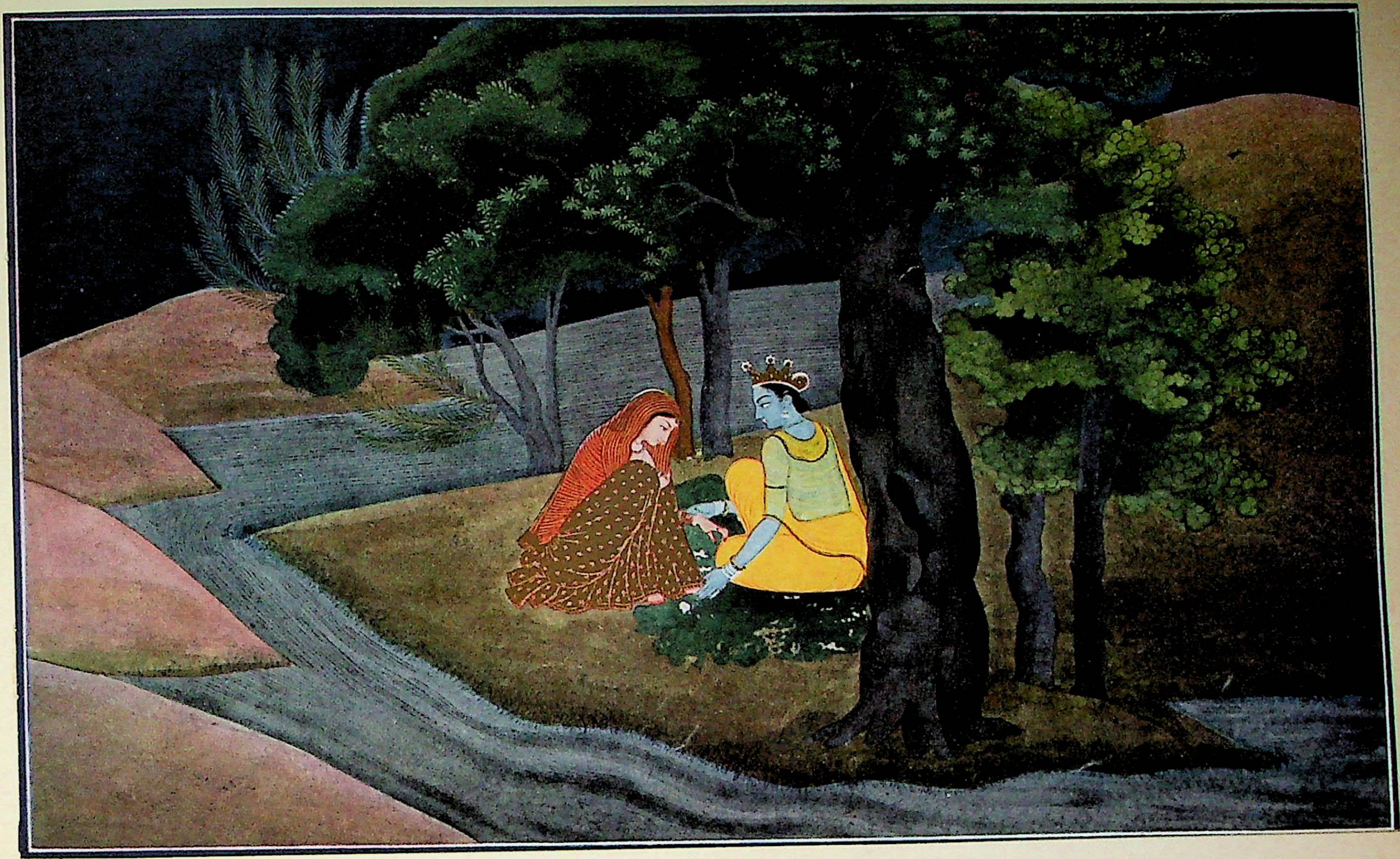


PLATE XV

IN THE MORNING SHE ROSE DISARRAYED

In the morning she rose disarrayed, her eyes betrayed a night without slumber; her bosom had nail-marks, her lips were crimson from a rain of kisses, her hair was disarranged, her *sārī* and her girdle had slipped.

This is an illustration of the following verse from Canto XII of the *Gīta Govinda:*

Vyākośaḥ keśapāśastaralitamalakaiḥ svedamokshau kapolau;
Klishṭā bimbādharaśrīḥ kuchakalaśaruchā hāritā hārayashṭiḥ.
Kāñchīkāntirhatāśā stanajaghanapadaṁ pāṇināchchhādya sadyaḥ;
Paśyantī satrapā sā tadapi vilulitā mugdhakāntirdhinoti.

The yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with joy, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind: "Though her tress-knot is loosened, her cheeks perspiring, the lustre of her lips faded, her necklace of pearls dimmed in beauty by her jar-shaped breasts, and though she hides their place with her hands, looking towards me with modesty, yet even thus disarrayed, she fills me with ecstatic delight."



PLATE XVI

LOVE PLAY OF RĀDHĀ AND KṚISHṆA

The Sanskrit text on the painting from Canto XII of the *Gīta Govinda* is as follows:

> Kuru Yadunandana! chandanaśiśiratareṇa kareṇa payodhare;
> Mṛigamadapatrakamatra manobhavamaṅgalakalaśasahodare.
> Nijagāda sā Yadunandane krīḍati hṛidayānandane.

Rādhā, preparing to array herself, before the company of the *gopīs* could see her confusion, spoke thus with exultation to her obsequious lover:

"Paint, O Kṛishṇa, with fingers cooler than sandal-wood, leaves and flowers with musk on this breast, which resembles a vase of consecrated water, crowned with fresh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower, to propitiate the God of Love."

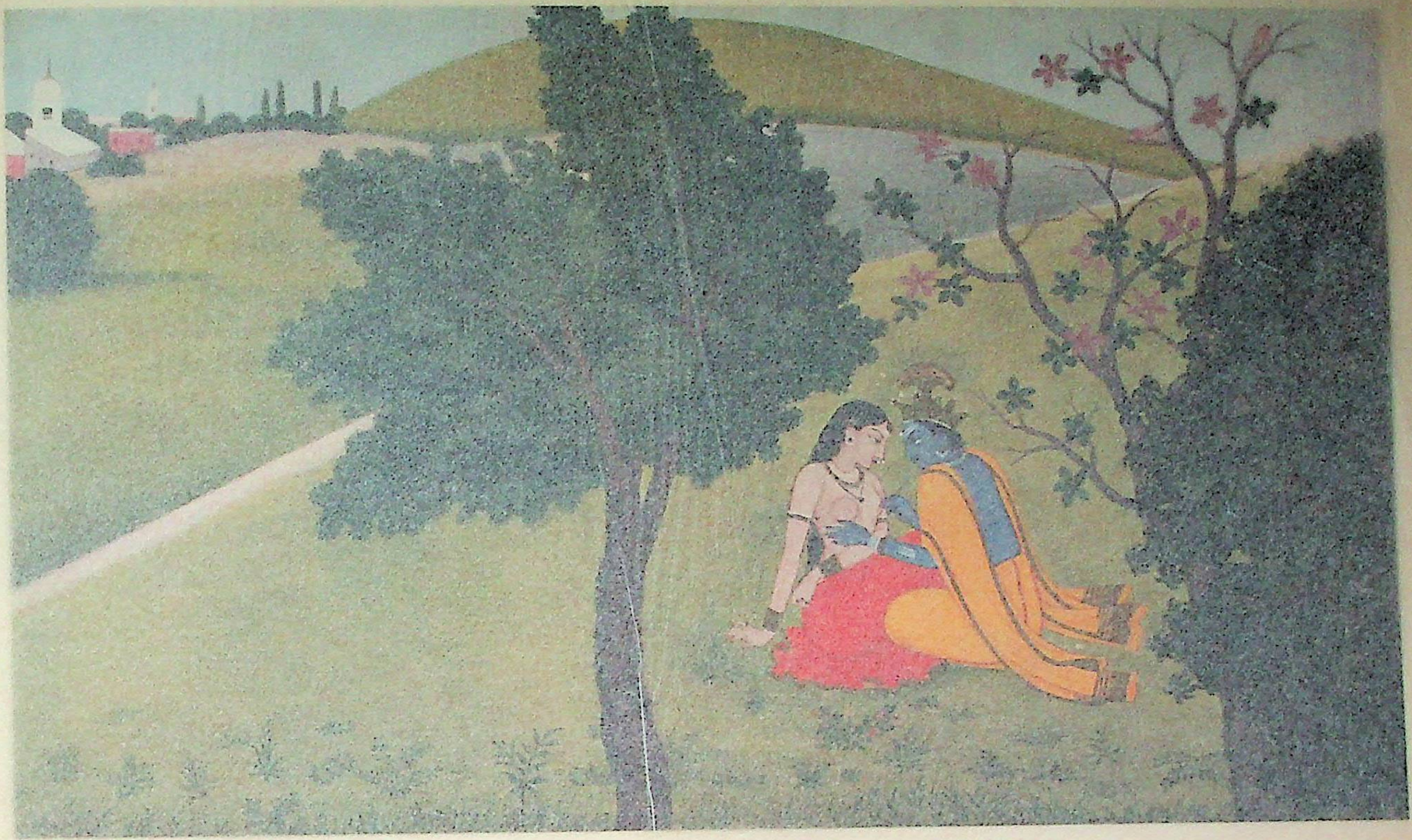


PLATE [illegible]

LOVE PLAY OF RĀDHĀ AND KṚISHṆA

The Sanskrit text on the painting from Canto [illegible] of the *Gita Govinda* is as follows:

> [illegible] kareṇa payodhare;
> [illegible]kalaśasahodare.
> [illegible]

[illegible] of the *gopis* could see her confusion, [illegible]

"[illegible] leaves and flowers with musk [illegible] crowned with fresh leaves, and fixed [illegible]"

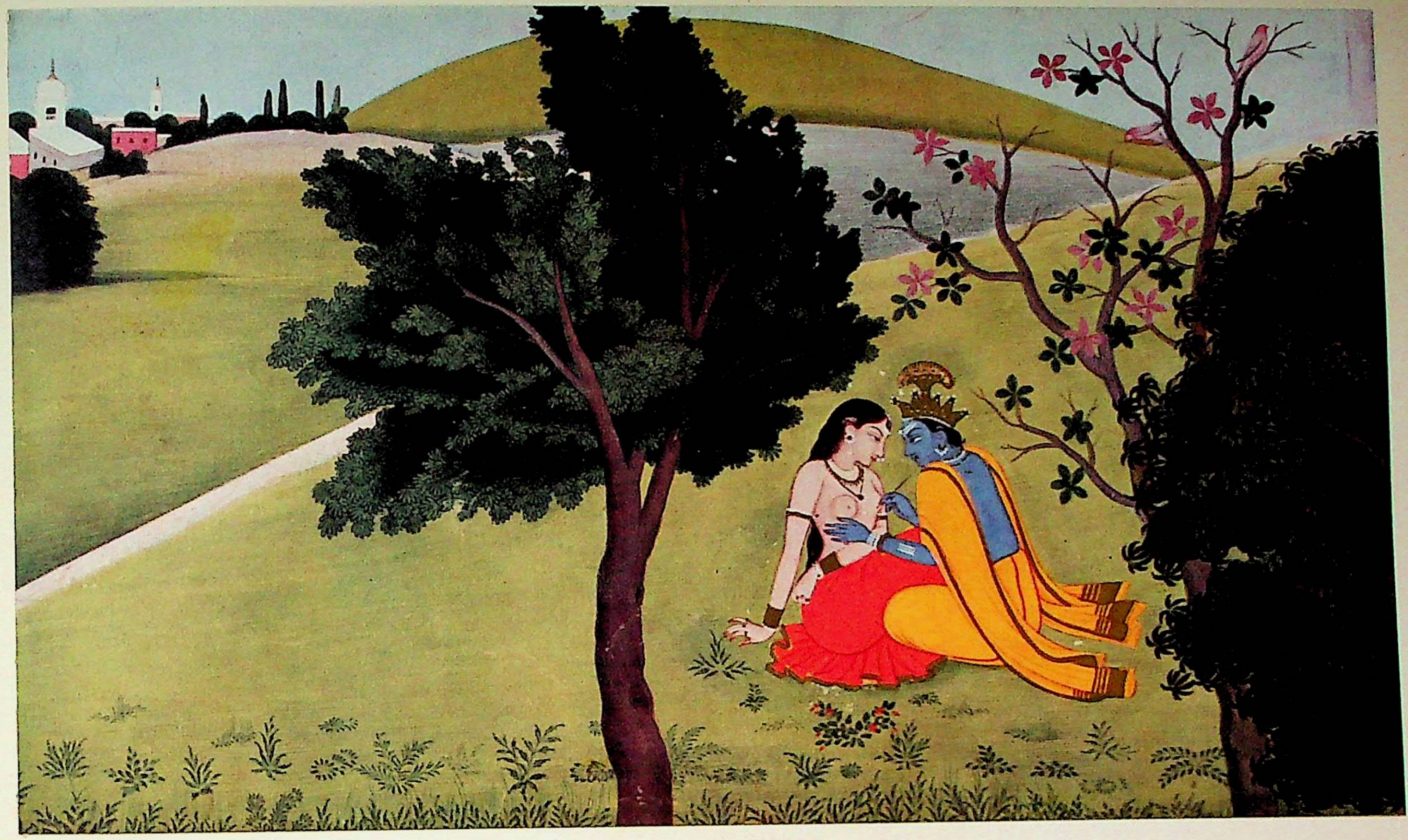


PLATE XVII

HANG ON MY EARS THE JEWELLED EAR-RINGS, O ACCOMPLISHED YOUTH!

The Sanskrit text on the painting from Canto XII of the *Gīta Govinda* is as below:

Nayanakuraṅgataraṅgavikāsanirāsakare śrutimaṇḍale;
Manasijapāśavilāsadhare śubhaveśa! niveśaya kuṇḍale.

"Hang on my ears the jewelled ear-rings, O accomplished youth, whence the antelopes of thine eyes may run downwards and sport at pleasure."



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The Sanskrit text on the painting from Canto XII of the *Gīta Govinda* is as below:

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PLATE XVIII

ARRANGE MY TRESSES, MY LOVE!

This picture illustrates the following verse from Canto XII of the *Gita Govinda:*

Bhramarachayaṁ rachayantamupari ruchiraṁ suchiraṁ mama saṁmukhe;
Jitakamale vimale parikarmaya narmajanakamalakaṁ mukhe.

"Arrange my tresses, O beloved Kṛishṇa, round my temples. These are purer than the lotus blossom."



PLATE XVIII

ARRANGE MY TRESSES, MY LOVE!

This picture illustrates the following verse from Canto XII of the *Gita Govinda:*

> [illegible] suchiraṁ mama saṁmukhe;
> [illegible] mukhe.

"Arrange my tresses, O beloved Krishna, round my temples. These are purer than the lotus blossoms."



PLATE XIX

PLACE A CIRCLE OF MUSK ON MY FOREHEAD

This is an illustration of the following verse from Canto XII of the *Gita Govinda:*

Mṛigamadarasavalitaṁ lalitaṁ kuru tilakamalikarajanikare;
Vihitakalaṅkakalaṁ kamalānana! viśramitaśramaśikare.

Mama ruchire chikure kuru mānada! manasijadhvajachāmare;
Ratigalite lalite kusumāni śikhaṇḍiśikhaṇḍakaḍāmare.

"O Love, place now a fresh circle of musk, black as the lunar spots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix gay flowers on my tresses with a peacock's feathers, in graceful order, that they may wave like the banners of Kāma."



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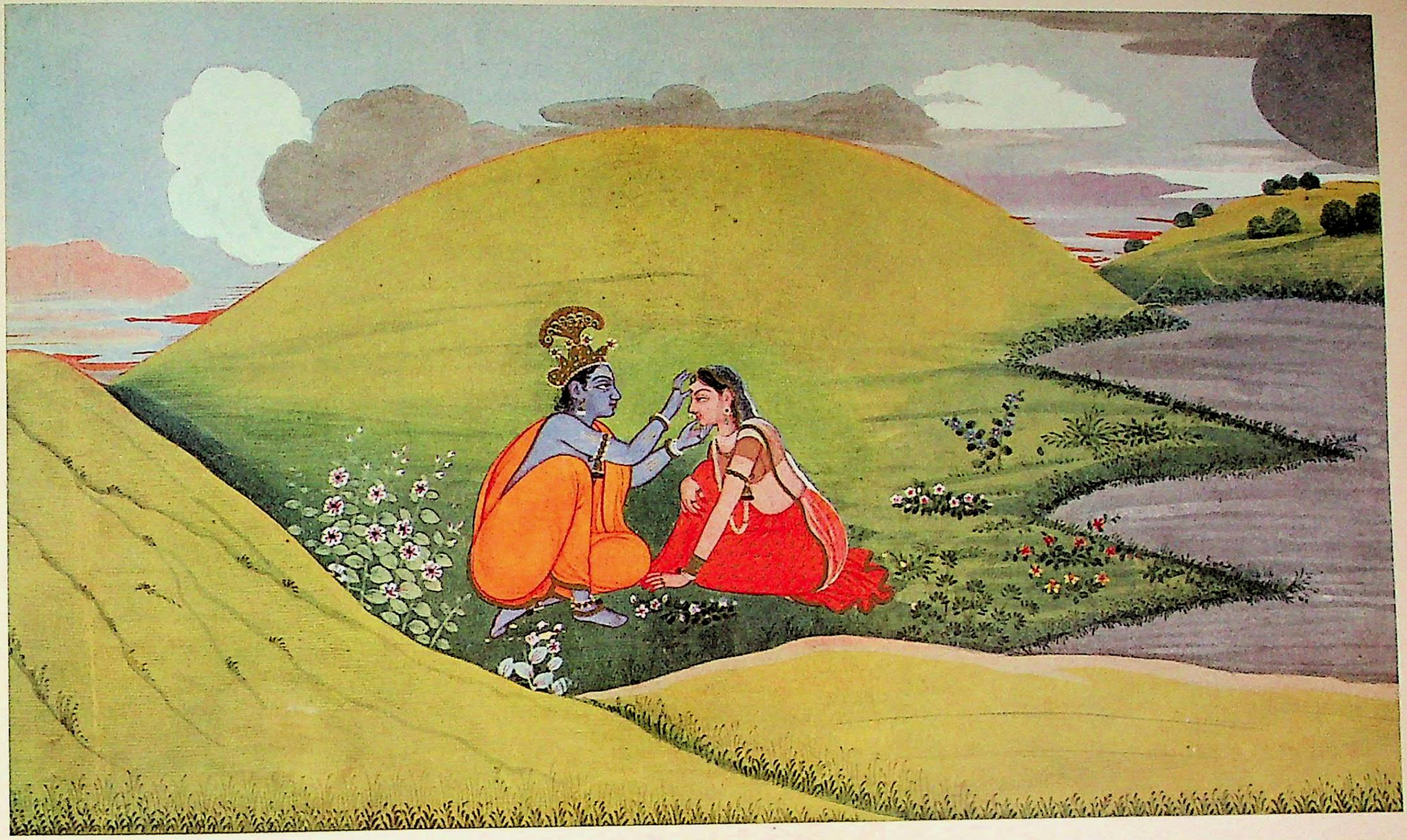


PLATE XX

KṚISHṆA TYING THE TRESSES OF RĀDHĀ

This is an illustration from Canto XII of the *Gita Govinda*. Kṛishṇa ties the tresses of Rādhā on the River Bank. The painting is unique in the sense that for the first time we see a cypress tree in a Kangra painting. *Gīta Govinda* thus concludes:

Rachaya kuchayośchitraṁ patraṁ kurushva kapolayor-
Ghaṭaya jaghane kāñchīṁ mugdhasrajā kabarībharam;
Kalaya valayaśreṇīṁ pāṇau pade maninūpurā-
Viti nigaditaḥ prītaḥ pītāmbaropi tathākarot.

Yadgāndharvakalāsu kauśalamanudhyānaṁ cha yadvaishṇavaṁ
Yachchṛiṅgāravivekatattvamapi yat kāvyeshu līlāyitam-
Tatsarvaṁ Jayadevapaṇḍitkaveḥ Kṛishṇaikatānātmanaḥ
Sānandāḥ pariśodhayantu sudhiyaḥ śrīgītagovindataḥ.

While she spoke, Kṛishṇa triumphed; and obeying her sportful behests, he placed musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with *kājal*, decked her braided hair and her neck with fresh garlands, and tied on her wrists loosened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and around her waist the zone of bells, that sounded with ravishing melody.

Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is divine in meditations on Vishṇu, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jayadeva whose soul is united with the foot of Nārāyaṇa.



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TEXTS ON PAINTINGS

The paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* series bear inscriptions in Sanskrit from the text of the poem on the back. In some cases translations in the Kangra dialect of Panjabi in Devanāgarī script are also given. The folio numbers on the paintings in some cases do not follow the sequence of the text of the poem.

PLATE I — Folio No. 15

(मेघैर्मेदुरमम्बरं वनभुवः श्यामास्तमालद्रुमै-
र्नक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिमं राधे! गृहं प्रापय।)
इत्थं नन्दनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुंजद्रुमं
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति यमुनाकूले रहःकेलयः।।

वाग्देवताचरितचित्रितचित्तसद्मा
पद्मावतीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती।
श्रीवासुदेवरतिकेलिकथासमेत-
मेतं करोति जयदेवकविः प्रबन्धम्।।

यदि हरिस्मरणे सरसं मनो यदि विलासकलासु कुतूहलम्।
मधुरकोमलकान्तपदावलीं शृणु तदा जयदेवसरस्वतीम्।।

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुतेः।
शृंगारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्य्यगोवर्द्धन–
स्पर्द्धी कोऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरोधोयी कविक्ष्मापतिः।।

(Meghairmeduramambaraṁ vanabhuvaḥ śyāmāsta-
māladrumaiḥ
Naktaṁ bhīrurayaṁ tvameva tadimaṁ Rādhe gṛihaṁ
prāpaya;)

Itthaṁ nandanideśataśchalitayoḥ
pratyadhvakuñjadrumaṁ
Rādhāmādhavayorjayanti yamunākūle rahaḥkelayaḥ.

Vāgdevatācharitachitritachittasadmā
padmāvatīcharaṇachāraṇachakravartī;
Śrīvāsudevaratikelikathāsameta-
metaṁ karoti jayadevakaviḥ prabandham.

Yadi harismaraṇe sarasaṁ mano
yadi vilāsakalāsu kutūhalaṁ;
Madhurakomalakāntapadāvalīṁ
śṛiṇu tadā jayadevasarasvatīm.

Vāchaḥ pallavayatyumāpatidharaḥ sandarbhaśuddhiṁ
girāṁ;
Jānīte jayadeva eva śaraṇaḥ ślāghyo durūhadruteḥ;
Śṛiṅgārottarasatprameyarachanairāchāryyagovardhana-
Sparddhī kopi na viśrutaḥ śrutidharodhoyī
kavikshmāpatiḥ.

ईहा करी नंदे दी आज्ञा वला प्रस्थित जे राधा कृष्ण तीन्हा दी क्रीडा यमुना तटे दा जे मार्ग तीस वीच जे अनेक कुंज तीन्हा वीर्षे जये की प्राप्त होन एह पुस्तके दे आदि मंगल भी आशीर्वचन एह श्लोकार्थः।

PLATE II — Folio No. 21

ललितलवंगलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे
मधुकरनिकरकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुंजकुटीरे।
विहरति हरिरिह सरसवसन्ते
नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते।।

Lalitalavaṅgalatāpariśīlanakomalamalayasamīre
Madhukaranikarakarambitakokilakūjitakuñjakuṭīre;
Viharati haririha sarasavasante
Nṛityati yuvatijanena samaṁ sakhi virahijanasya durante.

हे सखि हे राधे श्रीकृष्ण जी सरस जे वसंत तिस विषें विहार करदा हे। और स्त्रीओ के साथ नृत्य करदा हे। सन्त के देहा हे। सुंदर जे लवंगलता तिन्हा दा संबंधि कोमल हे मलयाचले दा वात जिस विषें। भिरी कदे भ्रमर समूहे कने मिलितये कोकिला दा शब्द तिनी करी शब्दायमान हे कुंज ही अल्प कुटी जिस विरि कदे हा हे। विरही जे जन तिन्हा की दारुण हे ।।१।।

PLATE III

उन्मीलन्मधुगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्याधूतचूतांकुर-
क्रीडत्कोकिलकाकलीकलरवैरुद्गीर्णकर्णज्वराः।
नीयन्ते पथिकैः कथंकथमपि घ्यानावधानक्षण-
प्राप्तप्राणसमासमागमरसोल्लासैरमी वासराः।।

Unmīlanmadhugandhalubdha-
madhupavyādhūtachūtāṅkura-
Krīḍatkokilakākalīkalaravairudgīrṇakarṇajvarāḥ;
Nīyante pathikaiḥ kathaṁkathamapi
dhyānāvadhānakshaṇa-
Prāptaprāṇasamāsamāgamarasollāsairamī Vāsarāḥ.

PLATE IV—Folio No. 26

पीनपयोधरभारभरेण हरिं परिरम्य सरागम् ।
गोपवधूरनुगायति काचिदुदंचितपंचमरागम् ।।

Pīnapayodharabhārabhareṇa hariṁ parirabhya sarāgam;
Gopavadhūranugāyati kāchidudañchitapañchamarāgam.

कोइ जे गोपवधू हे से पीन कुचादा ये भार भर तिनी करी सराग ही श्रीकृष्ण जी कि आलिंगित करी पश्चात् उदंचित ये पंचम राग तिसकी गायन करदी हे ।

PLATE V—Folio No. 5

गोपकदम्बनितम्बवतीमुखचुम्बनलम्भितलोभम् ।
बन्धुजीवमधुराधरपल्लवमुल्लसितस्मितशोभम् ।।

Gopakadaṁbanitaṁbavatīmukhachumbanalambhita-
lobham;
Bandhujīvamadhurādharapallavamullasitasmitaśobham.

भिरी कदेहा हे श्रीकृष्ण । गोप समूहे दी या प्रधान जे स्त्रीया तिन्हा दा जे मुख चुंबन तिस विषें प्राप्त होया हे लोभ जिसदी । दुपहरीए दी न्याई सुंदर जे अधर पल्लव तिनी करी उल्लसित हास्य शोभा जिसदी ।।४।।

PLATE VI—Folio No. 25

गणयति गुणग्रामं भ्रामं भ्रमादपि नेहते
वहति च परीतोषं दोषं विमुंचति दूरतः ।
युवतिषु वलत्तृष्णे कृष्णे विहारिणि मां विना
पुनरपि मनो वामं कामं करोति करोमि किम् ।।१।।

Gaṇayati guṇagrāmaṁ bhrāmaṁ bhramādapi nehate
Vahati cha parītoshaṁ doshaṁ vimuñchati dūrataḥ;
Yuvatishu valattṛishṇe kṛishṇe vihāriṇi māṁ vinā
Punarapi mano vāmaṁ kāmaṁ karoti karomi kim.

मेरा जे मन हे से भिरीभि कृष्ण विषें अभिलाषे की करदा हे। कदेहा हे श्रीकृष्ण। होरना स्त्रीया विषें हे अभिलाष जिसदा। भिरी कदेहा हे श्रीकृष्ण मे विना विहार करदा हे। कदेहा हे मेरा मन विरुद्ध हे। हों क्या करां। मेरा मन सापराध जे श्रीकृष्ण तिसदे गुण समूहे की गणदा हे। भ्रमेते विस्मरण नहीं होंदा। परितोषे की धारदा हे। दूरेवाला दोषे की छड़दा हे ।।१।।

PLATE VII—Folio No. 13

प्रथमसमागमलज्जितया पटुचाटुशतैरनुकूलम् ।
मृदुमधुरस्मितभाषितया शिथिलीकृतजघनदुकूलम् ।।

Prathamasamāgamalajjitayā paṭuchāṭuśatairanukūlam;
Mṛidumadhurasmitabhāshitayā śithilīkṛitajaghanadu-
kūlam.

प्रथम समागमे करी है लज्जा जिसा की मतयाणे की समर्थं जेषु साम दी ए दे हे सैंकडे वचन तिन्हे करी मनाणेवाला। कोमल हुर मधुर जे ईषद्धास्य हुर वचन जिसा दे इने ही जे हे तिना। श्लथ कीता हे जघन विषे स्थित पट्ट वस्त्र जिनी ।

PLATE VIII—Folio No. 94

ध्वनति मधुपसमूहे श्रवणमपिदधाति ।
मनसि कलितविरहे निशि-निशि रुजमुपयाति ।।

Dhvanati madhupasamūhe śravaṇamapidadhāti;
Manasi kalitavirahe niśi-niśi rujamupayāti.

भ्रमरां दे समूहे शब्द करदे संते श्रवण की भी ढकी लेंदा हे। मन विषें विरहे आए संते रात्रि रात्रि विषें कष्टे की प्राप्त होंदा हे।

PLATE IX—Folio No. 115

विहितविशदबिसकिसलयवलया ।
जीवति परमिह तव रतिकलया ।।
मुहुरवलोकितमण्डनलीला ।
मधुरिपुरहमिति भावनशीला ।।
त्वरितमुपैति न कथमभिसारम् ।
हरिरिति वदति सखीमनुवारम् ।।
श्लिष्यति चुम्बति जलधरकल्पम् ।
हरिरुपगत इति तिमिरमनल्पम् ।।
भवति विलम्बिनि विगलितलज्जा ।
विलपति रोदिति वासकसज्जा ।।
श्रीजयदेवकवेरिदमुदितम् ।
रसिकजनं तनुतामतिमुदितम् ।।

Vihitaviśadabisakisalayavalayā;
Jīvati paramiha tava ratikalayā.
Muhuravalokitamaṇḍanalīlā;
Madhuripurahamiti bhāvanaśīlā.
Tvaritamupaiti na kathamabhisāram;
Haririti vadati sakhīmanuvāram.
Ślishyati chumbati jaladharakalpam;
Harirupagata iti timiramanalpam.
Bhavati vilambini vigalitalajjā;
Vilapati roditi vāsakasajjā.
Śrījayadevakaveridamuditam;
Rasikajanaṁ tanutāmatimuditam.

PLATE X

प्रसरति शशधरबिम्बे विहितविलम्बे च माधवे विधुरा ।
विरचितविविधविलापं सा परितापं चकारोच्चैः ।।

Prasarati śaśadharabimbe vihitavilambe cha mādhave
vidhurā;
Virachitavividhavilāpaṁ sā paritāpaṁ chakārochchaiḥ

PLATE XI — Folio No. 58

अन्तर्मोहनमौलिघूर्णनचलन्मन्दारविभ्रंशन-
स्तम्भाकर्षणदृप्तिहर्षणमहामन्त्रः कुरंगीदृशाम् ।
दृप्यद्दानवदूयमानदिविषद्दुर्वारदुःखापदां
भ्रंशः कंसरिपोर्विपोलयतु वः श्रेयांसि वंशीरवः ।।

Antarmohanamaulighūrṇanachalanmandāravibhraṁśana-
Stambhākarshaṇadṛiptiharshaṇamahāmantraḥ kuraṅgīdṛiśām;
Dripyaddānavadūyamānadivishaddurvāraduḥkhāpadāṁ
Bhraṁśaḥ kaṁsariporvipolayatu vaḥ śreyāṁsi vaṁśīravaḥ.

PLATE XII — Folio No. 83

हारावलीतरलकांचनकांचिदाम-
केयूरकंकणमणिद्युतिदीपितस्य ।
द्वारे निकुंजनिलयस्य हरिं निरीक्ष्य
व्रीडावतीमथ सखीमियमित्युवाच ।।

मंजुतरकुंजतलकेलिसदने ।
विलस रतिरभसहसितवदने ।।

प्रविश राधे! माधवसमीपमिह ।।

नवभवदशोकदलशयनसारे ।
विलस कुचकलशतरलहारे ।।

कुसुमचयरचितशुचिवासगेहे ।
विलस कुसुमसुकुमारदेहे ।।

Hārāvalītaralakāñchanakāñchidāma-
Keyūrakaṅkaṇamaṇidyutidīpitasya;
Dvāre nikuñjanilayasya hariṁ nirīkshya
Vrīḍāvatīmatha sakhīmiyamityuvācha.

Mañjutarakuñjatalakelisadane;
Vilasa ratirabhasahasitavadane.

Praviśa Rādhe! mādhavasamīpamiha.

Navabhavadaśokadalaśayanasāre;
Vilasa kuchakalaśataralahāre.

Kusumachayarachitaśuchivāsagehe;
Vilasa kusumasukumāradehe.

PLATE XIII — Folio No. 97

सा ससाध्वससानन्दं गोविन्दे लोललोचना ।
सिंजानमंजुमंजीरं प्रविवेशाभिवेशनम् ।।
राधावदनविलोकनविकसितविविधविकारविभंगम् ।
जलनिधिमिव विधुमण्डलदर्शनतरलिततुंगतरंगम् ।।
हरिमेकरसं चिरमभिलषितविलासम् ।
सा ददर्श गुरुहर्षवशंवदवदनमनंगनिवासम् ।।

Sā sasādhvasasānandaṁ govinde lolalochanā;
Siñjānamañjumañjīraṁ praviveśābhiveśanam.
Rādhāvadanavilokanavikasitavividhavikāravibhaṅgam;
Jalanidhimiva vidhumaṇḍaladarśanataralitatuṅga-taraṅgam.
Harimekarasaṁ chiramabhilashitavilāsam,
Sā dadarśa guruharshavaśaṁvadavadanamanaṅga-nivāsam.

PLATE XIV

गतवति सखीवृन्देऽमन्दत्रपाभरनिर्भर-
स्मरपरवशाकूतस्फीतस्मितस्नपिताधराम् ।
सरसमनसं दृष्ट्वा राधां मुहुर्नवपल्लव-
प्रसवशयने निक्षिप्ताक्षीमुवाच हरिः प्रियाम् ।।

Gatavati sakhīvṛindemandatrapābharanirbhara-
Smaraparavaśākūtasphītasmitasnapitādharām.
Sarasamanasaṁ dṛishṭvā Rādhāṁ muhurnavapallava-
Prasavaśayane nikshiptākshīmuvācha Hariḥ priyām.

PLATE XV — Folio No. 126

व्याकोशः केशपाशस्तरलितमलकैः स्वेदमोक्षौ कपोलौ
क्लिष्टा बिम्बाधरश्रीः कुचकलशरुचा हारिता हारयष्टिः ।
कांचीकान्तिर्हताशा स्तनजघनपदं पाणिनाच्छाद्य सद्यः
पश्यन्ती सत्रपा सा तदपि विलुलितस्रग्धरेयं धिनोति ।।

Vyākośaḥ keśapāśastaralitamalakaiḥ svedamokshau kapolau
Klishṭā biṁbādharaśrīḥ kuchakalaśaruchā hāritā hārayashṭiḥ;
Kāñchikāntirhatāśā stanajaghanapadaṁ pāṇinā-chchhādya sadyaḥ
Paśyantī satrapā sā tadapi vilulitasragdhareyaṁ dhinoti.

PLATE XVI — Folio No. 124

कुरु यदुनन्दन! चन्दनशिशिरतरेण करेण पयोधरे ।
मृगमदपत्रकमत्र मनोभवमंगलकलशसहोदरे ।।
निजगाद सा यदुनन्दने क्रीडति हृदयानन्दने ।।

Kuru Yadunandana! chandanaśiśiratareṇa kareṇa payodhare;
Mṛigamadapatrakamatra manobhavamaṅgala-kalaśasahodare.
Nijagāda sā Yadunandane krīḍati hṛidayānandane.

PLATE XVII—Folio No. 117

नयनकुरंगतरंगविकासनिरासकरे श्रुतिमण्डले ।
मनसिजपाशविलासधरे शुभवेश! निवेशय कुण्डले ।।

Nayanakuraṅgataraṅgavikāsanirāsakare śrutimaṇḍale;
Manasijapāśavilāsadhare śubhaveśa! niveśaya kuṇḍale.

PLATE XVIII—Folio No. 116

भ्रमरचयं रचयन्तमुपरि रुचिरं सुचिरं मम संमुखे ।
जितकमले विमले परिकर्मय नर्मजनकमलकं मुखे ।।

Bhramarachayaṁ rachayantamupari ruchiraṁ suchiraṁ mama saṁmukhe;
Jitakamale vimale parikarmaya narmajanakamalakaṁ mukhe.

PLATE XIX

मृगमदरसवलितं ललितं कुरु तिलकमलिकरजनीकरे ।
विहितकलंककलं कमलानन! विश्रमितश्रमशीकरे ।।

Mṛigamadarasavalitaṁ lalitaṁ kuru tilakamalika-rajanīkare;
Vihitakalaṁkakalaṁ kamalānana! viśramitaśramaśīkare.

PLATE XX

रचय कुचयोश्चित्रं पत्रं कुरुष्व कपोलयो-
र्घटय जघने कांचीं मुग्धस्रजा कवरीभरम् ।
कलय वलयश्रेणीं पाणौ पदे कुरु नूपुरा-
विति निगदितः प्रीतः पीताम्बरोऽपि तथाऽकरोत् ।।

Rachaya kuchayośchitraṁ patraṁ kurushva kapolayo-
Rghaṭaya jaghane kāñchīṁ mugdhasrajā kabarī-bharam;
Kalaya valayaśreṇīṁ pāṇau pade kuru nūpurā-
Viti nigaditaḥ prītaḥ pītāmbaropi tathākarot.

यद्गान्धर्वकलासु कौशलमनुध्यानं च यद्वैष्णवं
यच्छृंगारविवेकतत्त्वरचनाकाव्येषु लीलायितम् ।
तत् सर्वं जयदेवपण्डितकवेः कृष्णैकतानात्मनः
सानन्दाः परिशोधयन्तु सुधियः श्रीगीतगोविन्दतः ।।

Yadgāndharvakalāsu kauśalamanudhyānaṁ cha yadvaishṇavaṁ
Yachchhṛiṅgāravivekatattvarachanākāvyeshu līlāyitam
Tatsarvaṁ jayadevapaṇḍitakaveḥ kṛishṇaikatānā-tmanaḥ
Sānandāḥ pariśodhayantu sudhiyaḥ śrīgītagovindataḥ.

GĪTA GOVINDA—SANSKRIT TEXT

प्रथमः सर्गः

(सामोददामोदरः)

मेघैर्मेदुरमम्बरं वनभुवः श्यामास्तमालद्रुमै-
र्नक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिमं राधे! गृहं प्रापय ।
इत्थं नन्दनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुंजद्रुमं
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति यमुनाकूले रहःकेलयः ।।

वाग्देवताचरितचित्रितचित्तसद्मा
पद्मावतीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती ।
श्रीवासुदेवरतिकेलिकथासमेत-
मेतं करोति जयदेवकविः प्रबन्धम् ।।

यदि हरिस्मरणे सरसं मनो
यदि विलासकलासु कुतूहलम् ।
मधुरकोमलकान्तपदावलीं
शृणु तदा जयदेवसरस्वतीम् ।।

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुतेः ।
शृंगारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्य्यगोवर्धन-
स्पर्द्धी कोऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरोधोयी कविक्ष्मापतिः ।।

(मालव-गौड़ राग — रूपक ताल)

प्रलयपयोधिजले धृतवानसि वेदम्
विहितवहित्रचरित्रमखेदम् ।
केशव धृतमीनशरीर
जय जगदीश हरे !

क्षितिरतिविपुलतरे तव तिष्ठति पृष्ठे
धरणिधरणकिणचक्रगरिष्ठे ।
केशव धृतकच्छपरूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

वसति दशनशिखरे धरणी तव लग्ना
शशिनि कलंककलेव निमग्ना ।
केशव धृतशूकररूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

तव करकमलवरे नखमद्भुतशृंगं
दलितहिरण्यकशिपुतनुभृंगम् ।
केशव धृतनरहरिरूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

छलयसि विक्रमणे बलिमद्भुतवामन
पदनखनीरजनितजनपावन ।
केशव धृतवामनरूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

क्षत्रियरुधिरमये जगदपगतपापं
स्नपयसि पयसि शमितभवतापम् ।
केशव धृतभृगुपतिरूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

वितरसि दिक्षु रणे दिक्पतिकमनीयं
दशमुखमौलिबलिं रमणीयम् ।
केशव धृतरामशरीर
जय जगदीश हरे !

वहसि वपुषि विशदे वसनं जलदाभं
हलहतिभीतिमिलितयमुनाभम् ।
केशव धृतहलधररूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

निन्दसि यज्ञविधेरहह श्रुतिजातं
सदयहृदय दर्शितपशुघातम् ।
केशव धृतबुद्धशरीर
जय जगदीश हरे !

म्लेच्छनिवहनिधने कलयसि करवालं
धूमकेतुमिव किमपि करालम् ।
केशव धृतकल्किशरीर
जय जगदीश हरे !

श्रीजयदेवकवेरिदमुदितमुदारं
शृणु सुखदं शुभदं भवसारम् ।
केशव धृतदशविधरूप
जय जगदीश हरे !

वेदानुद्धरते जगन्निवहते भूगोलमुद्बिभ्रते
दैत्यं दारयते बलिं छलयते क्षत्रक्षयं कुर्वते ।
पौलस्त्यं जयते हलं कलयते कारुण्यमातन्वते
म्लेच्छान् मूर्च्छयते दशाकृतिकृते कृष्णाय तुभ्यं नमः ।।

(गुर्जरी राग—निःसार ताल)

श्रितकमलाकुचमण्डल, धृतकुण्डल ए ।
कलितललितवनमाल, जय जय देव हरे ।।

दिनमणिमण्डलमण्डन, भवखण्डन ए ।
मुनिजनमानसहंस, जय जय देव हरे ।।

कालियविषधरगंजन, जनरंजन ए ।
यदुकुलनलिनदिनेश, जय जय देव हरे ।।

मधुमुरनरकविनाशन, गरुडासन ए ।
सुरकुलकेलिनिदान, जय जय देव हरे ।।

अमलकमलदललोचन, भवमोचन ए ।
त्रिभुवनभुवननिधान, जय जय देव हरे ।।

जनकसुताकृतभूषण, जितदूषण ए ।
समरशमितदशकण्ठ, जय जय देव हरे ।।

अभिनवजलधरसुन्दर, धृतमन्दर ए ।
श्रीमुखचन्द्रचकोर, जय जय देव हरे ।।

तव चरणं प्रणता, वयमिति भावय ए ।
कुरु कुशलं प्रणतेषु, जय जय देव हरे ।।

श्रीजयदेवकवेरिदं, कुरुते मुदम् ए ।
मंगलमुज्ज्वलगीतं, जय जय देव हरे ।।

पद्मापयोधरतटीपरिरम्भलग्न-
काश्मीरमुद्रितमुरो मधुसूदनस्य ।
व्यक्तानुरागमिव खेलदनंगखेद-
स्वेदाम्बुपूरमनुपूरयतु प्रियं वः ।।

वसन्ते वासन्तीकुसुमसुकुमारैरवयवै-
र्भ्रमन्तीं कान्तारे बहुविहितकृष्णानुसरणाम् ।
अमन्दं कन्दर्पज्वरजनितचिन्ताकुलतया
चलद्बाधां राधां सरसमिदमूचे सहचरी ।।

(वसन्त राग — यति ताल)

ललितलवंगलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे ।
मधुकरनिकरकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुञ्जकुटीरे ।।

विहरति हरिरिह सरसवसन्ते
नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि! विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते ।।

उन्मदमदनमनोरथपथिकवधूजनजनितविलापे ।
अलिकुलसंकुलकुसुमसमूहनिराकुलबकुलकलापे ।।

मृगमदसौरभरभसवशंवदनवदलमालतमाले ।
युवजनहृदयविदारणमनसिजनखरुचिकिंशुकजाले ।।

मदनमहीपतिकनकदंडरुचिकेशरकुसुमविकासे ।
मिलितशिलीमुखपाटलपटलकृतस्मरतूणविलासे ।।

विगलितलज्जितजगदवलोकनतरुणकरुणकृतहासे ।
विरहिनिकृन्तनकुन्तमुखाकृतिकेतकदन्तुरिताशे ।।

माधविकापरिमलललिते नवमालिकयातिसुगन्धौ ।
मुनिमनसामपि मोहनकारिणि तरुणाकारणबन्धौ ।।

स्फुरदतिमुक्तलतापरिरम्भणमुकुलितपुलकितचूते ।
वृन्दावनविपिने परिसरपरिगतयमुनाजलपूते ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमुदयति हरिचरणस्मृतिसारम् ।
सरसवसन्तसमयवनवर्णनमनुगतमदनविकारम् ।।

दरविदलितमल्लीवल्लिचञ्चत्पराग-
प्रकटितपटवासैर्वासयन् काननानि ।
इह हि दहति चेतः केतकीगन्धबन्धुः
प्रसरदसमबाणप्राणवद्गन्धवाहः ।।

उन्मीलन्मधुगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्याधूतचूतांकुर-
क्रीडत्कोकिलकाकलीकलरवैरुद्गीर्णकर्णज्वराः ।
नीयन्ते पथिकैः कथंकथमपि ध्यानावधानक्षण-
प्राप्तप्राणसमासमागमरसोल्लासैरमी वासराः ।।

अनेकनारीपरिरम्भसम्भ्रमस्फुरन्मनोहारिविलासलालसम् ।
मुरारिमारादुपदर्शयन्त्यसौ सखी समक्षं पुनराह राधिकाम् ।।

(रामकरी राग — यति ताल)

चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेवरपीतवसनवनमाली ।
केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डयुगस्मितशाली ।।

हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे, विलासिनि विलसति केलिपरे ।।

पीनपयोधरभारभरेण हरिं परिरम्य सरागम् ।
गोपवधूरनुगायति काचिदुदञ्चितपञ्चमरागम् ।।

कापि विलासविलोलविलोचनखेलनजनितमनोजम् ।
ध्यायति मुग्धवधूरधिकं मधुसूदनवदनसरोजम् ।।

कापि कपोलतले मिलिता लपितुं किमपि श्रुतिमूले ।
चारु चुचुम्ब नितम्बवती दयितं पुलकैरनुकूले ।।

केलिकलाकुतुकेन च काचिदमुं यमुनाजलकूले ।
मञ्जुलवञ्जुलकुञ्जगतं विचकर्ष करेण दुकूले ।।

करतलतालतरलवलयावलिकलितकलस्वनवंशे ।
रासरसे सहनृत्यपरा हरिणा युवतिः प्रशशंसे ।।

श्लिष्यति कामपि चुम्बति कामपि कामपि रमयति रामाम् ।
पश्यति स स्मितचारुतरामपरामनुगच्छति वामाम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमद्भुतकेशवकेलिरहस्यम् ।
वृन्दावनविपिने ललितं वितनोतु शुभानि यशस्यम् ।।

विश्वेषामनुरञ्जनेन जनयन्नानन्दमिन्दीवर-
श्रेणीश्यामलकोमलैरुपनयन्नंगैरनंगोत्सवम् ।
स्वच्छन्दं व्रजसुन्दरीभिरभितः प्रत्यंगमालिंगितः
शृंगारः सखि ! मूर्तिमानिव मधौ मुग्धो हरिः क्रीडति ।।

नित्योत्संगवसद्भुजंगकवलक्लेशादिवेशाचलं
प्रालेयप्लवनेच्छयाऽनुसरति श्रीखण्डशैलानिलः ।
किं च स्निग्धरसालमौलिमुकुलान्यालोक्य हर्षोदया-
दुन्मीलन्ति कुहूः कुहूरिति कलोत्तालाः पिकानां गिरः ।।

रासोल्लासभरेण विभ्रमभृतामाभीरवामभ्रुवा-
मभ्यर्णं परिरम्य निर्भरमुरः प्रेमान्धया राधया ।
साधु त्वद्वदनं सुधामयमिति व्याहृत्य गीतस्तुति-
व्याजादुद्भटचुम्बितः स्मितमनोहारी हरिः पातु वः ।।

द्वितीयः सर्गः

(अक्लेशकेशवः)

विहरति वने राधा साधारणप्रणये हरौ
विगलितनिजोत्कर्षादीर्ष्यावशेन गताऽन्यतः ।
क्वचिदपि लताकुंजे गुञ्जन्मधुव्रतमण्डली-
मुखरशिखरे लीना दीनाऽप्युवाच रहः सखीम् ।।

(गुर्जरी राग — यति ताल)

सञ्चरदधरसुधामधुरध्वनिमुखरितमोहनवंशम् ।
चलितदृगञ्चलचञ्चलमौलिकपोलविलोलवतंसम् ।।

रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासं
स्मरति मनो मम कृतपरिहासम् ।।

चन्द्रकचारुमयूरशिखण्डकमण्डलवलयितकेशम् ।
प्रचुरपुरन्दरधनुरनुरञ्जितमेदुरमुदिरसुवेशम् ।।

गोपकदम्बनितम्बवतीमुखचुम्बनलम्भितलोभम् ।
बन्धुजीवमधुराधरपल्लवमुल्लसितस्मितशोभम् ।।

विपुलपुलकभुजपल्लववलयितवल्लवयुवतिसहस्रम् ।
करचरणोरसि मणिगणभूषणकिरणविभिन्नतमिस्रम् ।।

जलदपटलचलदिन्दुविनिन्दकचन्दनतिलकललाटम् ।
पीनपयोधरपरिसरमर्दननिर्दयहृदयकपाटम् ।।

मणिमयमकरमनोहरकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डमुदारम् ।
पीतवसनमनुगतमुनिमनुजसुरासुरवरपरिवारम् ।।

विशदकदम्बतले मिलितं कलिकलुषभयं शमयन्तम् ।
मामपि किमपि तरंगदनंगदृशा मनसा रमयन्तम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमतिसुन्दरमोहनमधुरिपुरूपम् ।
हरिचरणस्मरणं प्रति सम्प्रति पुण्यवतामनुरूपम् ।।

गणयति गुणग्रामं भ्रामं भ्रमादपि नेहते
वहति च परीतोषं दोषं विमुञ्चति दूरतः ।
युवतिषु वलत्तृष्णे कृष्णे विहारिणि मां विना
पुनरपि मनो वामं कामं करोति करोमि किम् ।।

(मालवगौड राग — एकताली ताल)

निभृतनिकुञ्जगृहं गतया निशि रहसि निलीय वसन्तम् ।
चकितविलोकितसकलदृशा रतिरभसभरेण हसन्तम् ।।

सखि! हे केशिमथनमुदारं
रमय मया सह मदनमनोरथभावितया सविकारम् ।।

प्रथमसमागमलज्जितया पटुचाटुशतैरनुकूलम् ।
मृदुमधुरस्मितभाषितया शिथिलीकृतजघनदुकूलम् ।।

किसलयशयननिवेशितया चिरमुरसि ममैव शयानम् ।
कृतपरिरम्भणचुम्बनया परिरम्य कृताधरपानम् ।।

अलसनिमीलितलोचनया पुलकावलिललितकपोलम् ।
श्रमजलसकलकलेवरया वरमदनमदादतिलोलम् ।।

कोकिलकलरवकूजितया जितमनसिजतन्त्रविचारम् ।
श्लथकुसुमाकुलकुन्तलया नखलिखितघनस्तनभारम् ।।

चरणरणितमणिनूपुरया परिपूरितसुरतवितानम् ।
मुखरविश्रृंखलमेखलया सकचग्रहचुम्बनदानम् ।।

रतिसुखसमयरसालसया दरमुकुलितनयनसरोजम् ।
निःसहनिपतिततनुलतया मधुसूदनमुदितमनोजम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमतिशयमधुरिपुनिधुवनशीलम् ।
सुखमुत्कंठितगोपवधूकथितं वितनोतु सलीलम् ।।

हस्तस्रस्तविलासवंशमनृजुभ्रूवल्लिमद्बल्लवी-
वृन्दोत्सारिदृगन्तवीक्षितमतिस्वेदार्द्रगण्डस्थलम् ।
मामुद्वीक्ष्य विलज्जितस्मितसुधामुग्धाननं कानने
गोविन्दं व्रजसुन्दरीगणवृतं पश्यामि हृष्यामि च ।।

दुरालोकस्तोकस्तबकनवकाशोकलतिका-
विकासः कासारोपवनपवनोऽपि व्यथयति ।
अपि भ्राम्यद्भृंगीरणितरमणीया न मुकुल-
प्रसूतिश्चूतानां सखि! शिखरिणीयं सुखयति ।।

साकूतस्मितमाकुलाकुलगलद्धम्मिल्लमुल्लासित-
भ्रूवल्लीकमलीकदर्शितभुजामूलोर्ध्वहस्तस्तनम् ।
गोपीनां निभृतं निरीक्ष्य गमिताकांक्षश्चिरं चिन्तय-
न्नन्तर्मुग्धमनोहरो हरतु वः क्लेशं नवः केशवः ।।

तृतीयः सर्गः

(मुग्धमधुसूदनः)

कंसारिरपि संसारवासनाबन्धश्रृंखलाम् ।
राधामाधाय हृदये तत्याज व्रजसुन्दरीः ।।

इतस्ततस्तामनुसृत्य राधिकामनंगबाणव्रणखिन्नमानसः ।
कृतानुतापः स कलिन्दनन्दिनीतटान्तकुंजे विषसाद माधवः ।।

(गुर्जरी राग — यति ताल)

मामियं चलिता विलोक्य वृतं वधूनिचयेन ।
सापराधतया मयापि न वारिताऽतिभयेन ।।

हरि हरि हतादरतया गता सा कुपितेव ।।

किं करिष्यति किं वदिष्यति सा चिरं विरहेण ।
किं धनेन जनेन किं मम जीवितेन गृहेण ।।

चिन्तयामि तदाननं कुटिलभ्रु कोपभरेण ।
शोणपद्ममिवोपरिभ्रमताऽऽकुलं भ्रमरेण ।।

तामहं हृदि संगतामनिशं भृशं रमयामि ।
किं वनेऽनुसरामि तामिह किं वृथा विलपामि ।।

तन्वि! खिन्नमसूयया हृदयं तवाकलयामि ।
तन्न वेद्मि कुतो गताऽसि न तेन तेऽनुनयामि ।।

दृश्यसे पुरतो गतागतमेव मे विदधासि ।
किं पुरेव ससम्भ्रमं परिरम्भणं न ददासि ?

क्षम्यतामपरं कदापि तवेदृशं न करोमि ।
देहि सुन्दरि! दर्शनं मम मन्मथेन दुनोमि ।।

वर्णितं जयदेवकेन हरेरिदं प्रवणेन ।
किन्दुबिल्वसमुद्रसंभवरोहिणीरमणेन ।।

हृदि बिसलताहारो नायं भुजंगमनायकः
कुवलयदलश्रेणी कंठे न सा गरलद्युतिः ।
मलयजरजो नेदं भस्म प्रियारहिते मयि
प्रहर न हरभ्रान्त्याऽनंग! क्रुधा किमु धावसि ?

पाणौ मा कुरु चूतसायकममुं मा चापमारोपय
क्रीडानिर्जितविश्व! मूर्च्छितजनाघातेन किं पौरुषम् ?
तस्या एव मृगीदृशो मनसिज! प्रेंखत्कटाक्षाशुग-
श्रेणीजर्जरितं मनागपि मनो नाद्यापि संधुक्षते ।।

भ्रूपल्लवं धनुरपांगतरंगितानि
बाणा गुणः श्रवणपालिरिति स्मरेण ।
तस्यामनंगजयजंगमदेवताया-
मस्त्राणि निर्जितजगन्ति किमर्पितानि ।।

भ्रूचापे निहितः कटाक्षविशिखो निर्मातु मर्मव्यथां
श्यामात्मा कुटिलः करोतु कबरीभारोऽपि मारोद्यमम् ।
मोहं तावदयं च तन्वि! तनुतां बिम्बाधरो रागवान्
सद्वृत्तः स्तनमंडलस्तव कथं प्राणैर्मम क्रीडति ?

तानि स्पर्शसुखानि ते च तरलाः स्निग्धा दृशोर्विभ्रमा-
स्तद्वक्त्राम्बुजसौरभं स च सुधास्यन्दी गिरां वक्रिमा ।
सा बिम्बाधरमाधुरीति विषयासंगेऽपि चेन्मानसं
तस्यां लग्नसमाधि हन्त विरहव्याधिः कथं वर्धते ।।

तिर्यक्कंठविलोलमौलितरलोत्तंसस्य वंशोच्चर-
द्दीप्तिस्थानकृतावधानललनालक्षैर्न संलक्षिताः ।
संमुग्धे मधुसूदनस्य मधुरे राधामुखेन्दौ सुधा-
सारे कन्दलिताश्चिरं दधतु वः क्षेमं कटाक्षोर्मयः ।।

चतुर्थः सर्गः

(स्निग्धमधुसूदनः)

यमुनातीरवानीरनिकुंजे मन्दमास्थितम् ।
प्राह प्रेमभरोद्भ्रान्तं माधवं राधिकासखी ।।

(कर्णाट राग —एकताली ताल)

निन्दति चन्दनमिन्दुकिरणमनु विन्दति खेदमधीरम् ।
व्यालनिलयमिलनेन गरलमिव कलयति मलयसमीरम् ।।

माधव! मनसिजविशिखभयादिव भावनया त्वयि लीना ।
सा विरहे तव दीना ।।

अविरलनिपतितमदनशरादिव भवदवनाय विशालम् ।
स्वहृदयमर्मणि वर्म करोति सजलनलिनीदलजालम् ।।

कुसुमविशिखशरतल्पमनल्पविलासकलाकमनीयम् ।
व्रतमिव तव परिरम्भसुखाय करोति कुसुमशयनीयम् ।।

वहति च चलितविलोचनजलधरमाननकमलमुदारम् ।
विधुमिव विकटविधुन्तुददन्तदलनगलितामृतधारम् ।।

विलिखति रहसि कुरंगमदेन भवन्तमसमशरभूतम् ।
प्रणमति मकरमधो विनिधाय करे च शरं नवचूतम् ।।

ध्यानलयेन पुरः परिकल्प्य भवन्तमतीव दुरापम् ।
विलपति हसति विषीदति रोदिति चंचति मुंचति तापम् ।।

प्रतिपदमिदमपि निगदति माधव! तव चरणे पतिताऽहम् ।
त्वयि विमुखे मयि सपदि सुधानिधिरपि तनुते तनुदाहम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमधिकं यदि मनसा नटनीयम् ।
हरिविरहाकुलबल्लवयुवतिसखीवचनं पठनीयम् ।।

आवासो विपिनायते प्रियसखीमालाऽपि जालायते
तापोऽपि श्वसितेन दावदहनज्वालाकलापायते ।
साऽपि त्वद्विरहेण हन्त हरिणीरूपायते हा कथं
कन्दर्पोऽपि यमायते विरचयञ्शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ।।

(देशाख राग —एकताली ताल)

स्तनविनिहितमपि हारमुदारम् ।
सा मनुते कृशतनुरिव भारम् ।।

राधिका तव विरहे केशव! ।।

सरसमसृणमपि मलयजपंकम् ।
पश्यति विषमिव वपुषि सशंकम् ।।

श्वसितपवनमनुपमपरिणाहम् ।
मदनदहनमिव वहति सदाहम् ।।

दिशि दिशि किरति सजलकणजालम् ।
नयननलिनमिव विगलितनालम् ।।

त्यजति न पाणितलेन कपोलम् ।
बालशशिनमिव सायमलोलम् ।।

नयनविषयमपि किसलयतल्पम् ।
कलयति विहितहुताशविकल्पम् ।।

हरिरिति हरिरिति जपति सकामम् ।
विरहविहितमरणेव निकामम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिति गीतम् ।
सुखयतु केशवपदमुपनीतम् ।।

सा रोमांचति सीत्करोति विलपत्युत्कम्पते ताम्यति
ध्यायत्युद्भ्रमति प्रमीलति पतत्युद्याति मूर्च्छत्यपि ।
एतावत्यतनुज्वरे वरतनुर्जीवेन्न किं ते रसा-
त्स्वर्वैद्यप्रतिम! प्रसीदसि यदि त्यक्तोऽन्यथा हस्तकः ।।

स्मरातुरां दैवतवैद्यहृद्य!
त्वदंगसंगामृतमात्रसाध्याम् ।
निवृत्तबाधां कुरुषे न राधा-
मुपेन्द्र! वज्रादपि दारुणोऽसि ।।

कन्दर्पज्वरसंज्वरातुरतनोराश्चर्यमस्याश्चिरं
चेतश्चन्दनचन्द्रमः कमलिनीचिन्तासु संताम्यति ।
किन्तु क्लान्तिवशेन शीतलतनुं त्वामेकमेव प्रियं
ध्यायन्ती रहसि स्थिता कथमपि क्षीणा क्षणं प्राणिति ।।

क्षणमपि विरहः पुरा न सेहे
नयननिमीलनखिन्नया यया ते ।
श्वसिति कथमसौ रसालशाखां
चिरविरहेण विलोक्य पुष्पिताग्राम् ।।

वृष्टिव्याकुलगोकुलावनरसादुद्धृत्य गोवर्द्धनं
बिभ्रद्वल्लववल्लभाभिरधिकानन्दाच्चिरं चुम्बितः ।
दर्पेणेव तदर्पिताधरतटीसिन्दूरमुद्रांकितो
बाहुर्गोपतनोस्तनोतु भवतां श्रेयांसि कंसद्विषः ।।

पञ्चमः सर्गः

(साकांक्षपुण्डरीकाक्षः)

अहमिह निवसामि याहि राधामनुनय मद्वचनेन चानयेथाः ।
इति मधुरिपुणा सखी नियुक्ता स्वयमिदमेत्य पुनर्जगाद राधाम् ।।

(देशीवराडी राग — रूपक ताल)

वहति मलयसमीरे मदनमुपनिधाय ।
स्फुटति कुसुमनिकरे विरहिहृदयदलनाय ।।

तव विरहे वनमाली सखि! सीदति ।।

दहति शिशिरमयूखे मरणमनुकरोति ।
पतति मदनविशिखे विलपति विकलतरोऽति ।।

ध्वनति मधुपसमूहे श्रवणमपिदधाति ।
मनसि कलितविरहे निशि निशि रुजमुपयाति ।।

वसति विपिनविताने त्यजति ललितधाम ।
लुठति धरणिशयने बहु विलपति तव नाम ।।

भणति कविजयदेवे विरहविलसितेन ।
मनसि रभसविभवे हरिरुदयतु सुकृतेन ।।

पूर्वं यत्र समं त्वया रतिपतेरासादिताः सिद्धय-
स्तस्मिन्नेव निकुंजमन्मथमहातीर्थे पुनर्माधवः ।
ध्यायंस्त्वामनिशं जपन्नपि तवैवालापमन्त्रावलीं
भूयस्त्वत्कुचकुम्भनिर्भरपरीरम्भामृतं वांछति ।।

(गुर्जरी राग — एकताली ताल)

रतिसुखसारे गतमभिसारे मदनमनोहरवेषम् ।
न कुरु नितम्बिनि! गमनविलम्बनमनुसर तं हृदयेशम् ।।

धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमाली ।
गोपीपीनपयोधरमर्दनचंचलकरयुगशाली ।।

नामसमेतं कृतसंकेतं वादयते मृदुवेणुम् ।
बहु मनुतेऽतनु ते तनुसंगतपवनचलितमपि रेणुम् ।।

पतति पतत्रे विचलति पत्रे शंकितभवदुपयानम् ।
रचयपि शयनं सचकितनयनं पश्यति तव पन्थानम् ।।

मुखरमधीरं त्यज मंजीरं रिपुमिव केलिसुलोलम् ।
चल सखि! कुंजं सतिमिरपुंजं शीलय नीलनिचोलम् ।।

उरसि मुरारेरुपहितहारे घन इव तरलबलाके ।
तडिदिव पीते! रतिविपरीते राजसि सुकृतविपाके ।।

विगलितवसनं परिहृतरसनं घटय जघनमपिधानम् ।
किसलयशयने पंकजनयने निधिमिव हर्षनिदानम् ।।

हरिरभिमानी रजनिरिदानीमियमपि याति विरामम् ।
कुरु मम वचनं सत्वररचनं पूरय मधुरिपुकामम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवे कृतहरिसेवे भणति परमरमणीयम् ।
प्रमुदितहृदयं हरिमतिसदयं नमत सुकृतकमनीयम् ।।

विकिरति मुहुः श्वासानाशाः पुरो मुहुरीक्षते
प्रविशति मुहुः कुजं गुंजन्मुहुर्बहु ताम्यति ।
रचयति मुहुः शय्यां पर्याकुलं मुहुरीक्षते
मदनकदनक्लान्तः कान्ते! प्रियस्तव वर्तते ।।

त्वद्वाम्येन समं समग्रमधुना तिग्मांशुरस्तं गतो
गोविन्दस्य मनोरथेन च समं प्राप्तं तमः सान्द्रताम् ।
कोकानां करुणस्वनेन सदृशी दीर्घा मदभ्यर्थना
तन्मुग्धे! विफलं विलम्बनमसौ रम्योऽभिसारक्षणः ।।

आश्लेषादनु चुम्बनादनु नखोल्लेखादनु स्वान्तज-
प्रोद्बोधादनु संभ्रमादनु रतारम्भादनु प्रीतयोः ।
अन्यार्थं गतयोर्भ्रमान्मिलितयोः सम्भाषणैर्जानतो-
र्दम्पत्योरिह को न को न तमसि व्रीडाविमिश्रो रसः ।।

सभयचकितं विन्यस्यन्तीं दृशं तिमिरे पथि
प्रतितरु मुहुः स्थित्वा मन्दं पदानि वितन्वतीम् ।
कथमपि रहःप्राप्तामंगैरनंगतरंगिभिः
सुमुखि! सुभगः पश्यन् स त्वामुपैतु कृतार्थताम् ।।

राधामुग्धमुखारविन्दमधुपस्त्रैलोक्यमौलिस्थली-
नेपथ्योचितनीलरत्नमवनीभारावतारान्तकः ।
स्वच्छन्दं व्रजसुन्दरीजनमनस्तोषप्रदोषोदयः
कंसध्वंसनधूमकेतुरवतु त्वां देवकीनन्दनः ।।

षष्ठः सर्गः

(धन्यवैकुण्ठकुंकुमः)

अथ तां गन्तुमशक्तां चिरमनुरक्तां लतागृहे दृष्ट्वा ।
तच्चरितं गोविन्दे मनसिजमन्दे सखी प्राह ।।

(गुणकरी राग — रूपक ताल)

पश्यति दिशि दिशि रहसि भवन्तम् ।
त्वदधरमधुरमधूनि पिबन्तम् ।।
नाथ हरे, सीदति राधाऽऽवासगृहे ।।
त्वदभिसरणरभसेन वलन्ती ।
पतति पदानि कियन्ति चलन्ती ।।
विहितविशदबिसकिसलयवलया ।
जीवति परमिह तव रतिकलया ।।
मुहुरवलोकितमंडनलीला ।
मधुरिपुरहमिति भावनशीला ।।
त्वरितमुपैति न कथमभिसारम् ।
हरिरिति वदति सखीमनुवारम् ।।
श्लिष्यति चुम्बति जलधरकल्पम् ।
हरिरुपगत इति तिमिरमनल्पम् ।।
भवति विलम्बिनि विगलितलज्जा ।
विलपति रोदिति वासकसज्जा ।।
श्रीजयदेवकवेरिदमुदितम् ।
रसिकजनं तनुतामतिमुदितम् ।।

विपुलपुलकपालिः स्फीतसीत्कारमन्त-
र्जनितजडिम काकुव्याकुलं व्याहरन्ती ।
तव कितव! विधायामन्दकन्दर्पचिन्तां
रसजलनिधिमग्ना ध्यानलग्ना मृगाक्षी ।।

अंगेष्वाभरणं करोति बहुशः पत्रेऽपि संचारिणि
प्राप्तं त्वां परिशंकते वितनुते शय्यां चिरं ध्यायति ।
इत्याकल्पविकल्पतल्परचनासंकल्पलीलाशत-
व्यासक्ताऽपि विना त्वया वरतनुर्नैषा निशां नेष्यति ।।

किं विश्राम्यसि कृष्णभोगिभवने भांडीरभूमीरुहि
भ्रातर्यासि न दृष्टिगोचरमितः सानन्दनन्दास्पदम् ।
राधाया वचनं तदध्वगमुखान्नन्दान्तिके गोपतो
गोविन्दस्य जयन्ति सायमतिथिप्राशस्त्यगर्भा गिरः ।।

सप्तमः सर्गः

(नागरनारायणः)

अत्रान्तरे च कुलटाकुलवर्त्मघात-
संजातपातक इव स्फुटलांछनश्रीः ।
वृन्दावनान्तरमदीपयदंशुजालै-
र्दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचन्दनबिन्दुरिन्दुः ।।

प्रसरति शशधरबिम्बे विहितविलम्बे च माधवे विधुरा ।
विरचितविविधविलापं सा परितापं चकारोच्चैः ।।

(मालव राग — यति ताल)

कथितसमयेऽपि हरिरहह न ययौ वनम् ।
मम विफलमिदममलरूपमपि यौवनम् ।।
यामि हे कमिह शरणं सखीजनवचनवंचिता ।।
यदनुगमनाय निशि गहनमपि शीलितम् ।
तेन मम हृदयमिदमसमशरकीलितम् ।।
मम मरणमेव वरमिति वितथकेतना ।
किमिति विषहामि विरहानलमचेतना ।।
मामहह विधुरयति मधुरमधुयामिनी ।
काऽपि हरिमनुभवति कृतसुकृतकामिनी ।।
अहह कलयामि वलयादिमणिभूषणम् ।
हरिविरहदहनवहनेन बहुदूषणम् ।।
कुसुमसुकुमारतनुमतनुशरलीलया ।
स्रगपि हृदि हन्ति मामतिविषमशीलया ।।
अहमिह निवसामि नगणितवनवेतसा ।
स्मरति मधुसूदनो मामपि न चेतसा ।।
हरिचरणशरणजयदेवकविभारती ।
वसतु हृदि युवतिरिव कोमलकलावती ।।

तत्किं कामपि कामिनीमभिसृतः किंवा कलाकेलिभि-
र्बद्धो बन्धुभिरन्धकारिणि वनाभ्यर्णे किमुद्भ्राम्यति ।
कान्तः क्लान्तमना मनागपि पथि प्रस्थातुमेवाक्षमः
संकेतीकृतमंजुवंजुललताकुंजेऽपि यन्नागतः ।।

अथागतां माधवमन्तरेण
सखीमियं वीक्ष्य विषादमूकाम् ।
विशंकमाना रमितं कयाऽपि
जनार्दनं दृष्टवदेतदाह ।।

(वसन्त राग—यति ताल)

स्मरसमरोचितविरचितवेशा ।
गलितकुसुमदरविलुलितकेशा ।।
कापि मधुरिपुणा विलसति युवतिरधिकगुणा ।।
हरिपरिरम्भणवलितविकारा ।
कुचकलशोपरि तरलितहारा ।।
विचलदलकललिताननचन्द्रा ।
तदधरपानरभसकृततन्द्रा ।।
चंचलकुंडलललितकपोला ।
मुखरितरसनजघनगतिलोला ।।

दयितविलोकितलज्जितहसिता ।
बहुविधकूजितरतिरसरसिता ।।

विपुलपुलकपृथुवेपथुभंगा ।
श्वसितनिमीलितविकसदनंगा ।।

श्रमजलकणभरसुभगशरीरा ।
परिपतितोरसि रतिरणधीरा ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितहरिरमितम् ।
कलिकलुषं जनयतु परिशमितम् ।।

विरहपांडुमुरारिमुखाम्बुज-
द्युतिरयं तिरयन्नपि वेदनाम् ।
विधुरतीव तनोति मनोभुवः
सुहृदये हृदये मदनव्यथाम् ।।

(गुर्जरी राग — एकताली ताल)

समुदितमदने रमणीवदने चुम्बनवलिताधरे ।
मृगमदतिलकं लिखति सपुलकं मृगमिव रजनीकरे ।।
रमते यमुनापुलिनवने विजयी मुरारिरधुना ।।

घनचयरुचिरे रचयति चिकुरे तरलिततरुणानने ।
कुरबककुसुमं चपलासुषमं रतिपतिमृगकानने ।।

घटयति सुघने कुचयुगगगने मृगमदरुचिरूषिते ।
मणिसरममलं तारकपटलं नखपदशशिभूषिते ।।

जितबिसशकले मृदुभुजयुगले करतलनलिनीदले ।
मरकतवलयं मधुकरनिचयं वितरति हिमशीतले ।।

रतिगृहजघने विपुलापघने मनसिजकनकासने ।
मणिमयरशनं तोरणहसनं विकिरति कृतवासने ।।

चरणकिसलये कमलानिलये नखमणिगणपूजिते ।
बहिरपवरणं यावकभरणं जनयति हृदि योजिते ।।

रमयति सुभृशं कामपि सुदृशं खलहलधरसोदरे ।
किमफलमवसं चिरमिह विरसं वद सखि! विटपोदरे ।।

इह रसभणने कृतहरिगुणने मधुरिपुपदसेवके ।
कलियुगरचितं न वसतु दुरितं कविनृपजयदेवके ।।

नायातः सखि! निर्दयो यदि शठस्त्वं दूति! किं दूयसे ?
स्वच्छन्दं बहुवल्लभः स रमते किं तत्र ते दूषणम् ?
पश्याद्य प्रियसंगमाय दयितस्याकृष्यमाणं गुणै-
रुत्कंठार्तिभरादिव स्फुटदिदं चेतः स्वयं यास्यति ।।

(देशवराडी राग — रूपक ताल)

अनिलतरलकुवलयनयनेन ।
तपति न सा किसलयशयनेन ।।

सखि! या रमिता वनमालिना ।।

विकसितसरसिजललितमुखेन ।
स्फुटति न सा मनसिजविशिखेन ।।

अमृतमधुरमृदुतरवचनेन ।
ज्वलति न सा मलयजपवनेन ।।

स्थलजलरुहरुचिकरचरणेन ।
लुठति न सा हिमकरकिरणेन ।।

सजलजलदसमुदयरुचिरेण ।
दलति न सा हृदि चिरविरहेण ।।

कनकनिकषरुचिशुचिवसनेन ।
श्वसिति न सा परिजनहसनेन ।।

सकलभुवनजनवरतरुणेन ।
वहति न सा रुजमतिकरुणेन ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितवचनेन ।
प्रविशतु हरिरपि हृदयमनेन ।।

मनोभवानन्दनचन्दनानिल!
प्रसीद रे दक्षिण! मुंच वामताम् ।
क्षणं जगत्प्राण! विधाय माधवं
पुरो मम प्राणहरो भविष्यसि ।।

रिपुरिव सखीसंवासोऽयं शिखीव हिमानिलो
विषमिव सुधारश्मिर्यस्मिन् दुनोति मनोगते ।
हृदयमदये तस्मिन्नेवं पुनर्वलते बला-
त्कुवलयदृशां वामः कामो निकामनिरंकुशः ।।

बाधां विधेहि मलयानिल! पंचबाण!
प्राणान् गृहाण न गृहं पुनराश्रयिष्ये ।
किन्ते कृतान्तभगिनि! क्षमया तरंगै-
रंगानि सिंच मम शाम्यतु देहदाहः ।।

प्रातर्नीलनिचोलमच्युतमुरः संवीतपीतांशुकं
राधायाश्चकितं विलोक्य हसति स्वैरं सखीमंडले ।
व्रीडाचंचलमंचलं नयनयोराधाय राधानने
स्वादुस्मेरमुखोऽयमस्तु जगदानन्दाय नन्दात्मजः ।।

अष्टमः सर्गः

(विलक्ष्यलक्ष्मीपतिः)

अथ कथमपि यामिनीं विनीय
स्मरशरजर्जरिताऽपि सा प्रभाते ।
अनुनयवचनं वदन्तमग्रे
प्रणतमपि प्रियमाह साभ्यसूयम् ।।

(भैरवी राग — यति ताल)

रजनिजनितगुरुजागररागकषायितमलसनिवेशम् ।
वहति नयनमनुरागमिव स्फुटमुदितरसाभिनिवेशम् ।।

हरि हरि याहि माधव! याहि केशव! मा वद कैतववादम् ।
तामनुसर सरसीरुहलोचन! या तव हरति विषादम् ।।

कज्जलमलिनविलोचनचुम्बनविरचितनीलिम रूपम् ।
दशनवसनमरुणं तव कृष्ण! तनोति तनोरनुरूपम् ।।

वपुरनुहरति तव स्मरसंगरखरनखरक्षतरेखम् ।
मरकतशकलकलितकलधौतलिपेरिव रतिजयलेखम् ।।

चरणकमलगलदलक्तकसिक्तमिदं तव हृदयमुदारम् ।
दर्शयतीव बहिर्मदनद्रुमनवकिसलयपरिवारम् ।।

दशनपदं भवदधरगतं मम जनयति चेतसि खेदम् ।
कथयति कथमधुनाऽपि मया सह तव वपुरेतदभेदम् ।।

बहिरिव मलिनतरं तव कृष्ण! मनोऽपि भविष्यति नूनम् ।
कथमथ वंचयसे जनमनुगतमसमशरज्वरदूनम् ?

भ्रमति भवानबलाकवलाय वनेषु किमत्र विचित्रम् ?
प्रथयति पूतनिकैव वधूवधनिर्दयबालचरित्रम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितरतिवंचितखंडितयुवतिविलापम् ।
शृणुत सुधामधुरं विबुधा! विबुधालयतोऽपि दुरापम् ।।

तवेदं पश्यन्त्याः प्रसरदनुरागं बहिरिव
प्रियापादालक्तच्छुरितमरुणद्योतिहृदयम् ।
ममाद्य प्रख्यातप्रणयभरभंगेन कितव!
त्वदालोकः शोकादपि किमपि लज्जां जनयति ।।

अन्तर्मोहनमौलिघूर्णनचलन्मन्दारविभ्रंशन–
स्तम्भाकर्षणदृप्तिहर्षणमहामन्त्रः कुरंगीदृशाम् ।
दृप्यद्दानवदूयमानदिविषद्दुर्वारदुःखापदां
भ्रंशः कंसरिपोर्विपोलयतु वः श्रेयांसि वंशीरवः ।।

नवमः सर्गः

(मुग्धमुकुन्दः)

तामथ मन्मथखिन्नां रतिरसभिन्नां विषादसम्पन्नाम् ।
अनुचिन्तितहरिचरितां कलहान्तरितामुवाच रहसि सखी ।।

(गुर्जरी राग — यति ताल)

हरिरभिसरति वहति मधुपवने ।
किमपरमधिकसुखं सखि! भवने ।।

माधवे मा कुरु मानिनि! मानमये ।।

तालफलादपि गुरुमतिसरसम् ।
किं विफलीकुरुषे कुचकलशम् ?

कति न कथितमिदमनुपदमचिरम् ।
मा परिहर हरिमतिशयरुचिरम् ।।

किमिति विषीदसि रोदिषि विकला ?
विहसति युवतिसभा तव सकला ।।

सजलनलिनदलशीतलशयने!
हरिमवलोकय सफलय नयने ।।

जनयसि मनसि किमिति गुरुखेदम् ।
शृणु मम वचनमनीहितभेदम् ।।

हरिरुपयातु वदतु बहुमधुरम् ।
किमिति करोषि हृदयमतिविधुरम् ?

श्रीजयदेवभणितमतिललितम् ।
सुखयतु रसिकजनं हरिचरितम् ।।

स्निग्धे यत्परुषाऽसि यत् प्रणमति स्तब्धाऽसि यद्रागिणि
द्वेषस्थाऽसि यदुन्मुखे विमुखतां याताऽसि तस्मिन् प्रिये ।
तद् युक्तं विपरीतकारिणि तव श्रीखंडचर्चा विषं
शीतांशुस्तपनो हिमं हुतवहः क्रीडामुदो यातनाः ।।

सान्द्रानन्दपुरन्दरादिदिविषद्वृन्दैरमन्दादरा-
दानम्रैर्मुकुटेन्द्रनीलमणिभिः संदर्शितेन्दिन्दिरम् ।
स्वच्छंदं मकरन्दसुन्दरगलन्मन्दाकिनीमेदुरं
श्रीगोविन्दपदारविन्दमशुभस्कन्दाय वन्दामहे ।।

दशमः सर्गः

(चतुरचतुर्भुजः)

अत्रान्तरे मसृणरोषवशामपार-
निःश्वासनिःसहमुखीं सुमुखीमुपेत्य ।
सव्रीडमीक्षितसखीवदनां दिनान्ते
सानन्दगद्गदपदं हरिरित्युवाच ।।

(देशवराडी राग — अष्टताली ताल)

वदसि यदि किंचिदपि दन्तरुचिकौमुदी
हरति दरतिमिरमतिघोरम् ।
स्फुरदधरशीधवे तव वदनचन्द्रमा
रोचयति लोचनचकोरम् ।।

प्रिये! चारुशीले! मुंच मयि मानमनिदानम् ।
सपदि मदनानलो दहति मम मानसं
देहि मुखकमलमधुपानम् ।।

सत्यमेवासि यदि सुदति मयि कोपिनी
देहि खरनखरशरघातम् ।
घटय भुजबन्धनं जनय रदखंडनं
येन वा भवति सुखजातम् ।।

त्वमसि मम भूषणं त्वमसि मम जीवनं
त्वमसि मम भवजलधिरत्नम् ।
भवतु भवतीह मयि सततमनुरोधिनी
तत्र मम हृदयमतियत्नम् ।।

नीलनलिनाभमपि तन्वि! तव लोचनं
धारयति कोकनदरूपम् ।
कुसुमशरबाणभावेन यदि रंजयसि
कृष्णमिदमेतदनुरूपम् ।।

स्फुरतु कुचकुंभयोरुपरि मणिमंजरी
रंजयतु तव हृदयदेशम् ।
रसतु रसनाऽपि तव घनजघनमंडले
घोषयतु मन्मथनिदेशम् ।।

स्थलकमलगंजनं मम हृदयरंजनं
जनितरतिरंगपरभागम् ।
भण मसृणवाणि! करवाणि चरणद्वयं
सरसलसदलक्तकरागम् ।।

स्मरगरलखंडनं मम शिरसि मंडनं
धेहि पदपल्लवमुदारम् ।
ज्वलति मयि दारुणो मदनकदनानलो
हरतु तदुपाहितविकारम् ।।

इति चटुलचाटुपटुचारु मुरवैरिणो
राधिकामधि वचनजातम् ।
जयति जयदेवकविभारतीभूषितं
मानिनीजनजनितशातम् ।।

परिहर कृतातंके! शंकां त्वया सततं घन-
स्तनजघनयाऽऽक्रान्ते स्वान्ते परानवकाशिनि ।
विशति वितनोरन्यो धन्यो न कोऽपि ममान्तरं
प्रणयिनि! परीरंभारंभे विधेहि विधेयताम् ।।

मुग्धे! विधेहि मयि निर्दयदन्तदंश-
दोर्वल्लिबन्धनिबिडस्तनपीडनानि ।
चंडि! त्वमेव मुदमुद्वह पंचबाण-
चांडालकांडदलनादसवः प्रयान्ति ।।

शशिमुखि! तव भाति भंगुरभ्रू-
र्युवजनमोहकरालकालसर्पी ।
तदुदितभयभंजनाय यूनां
त्वदधरसीधुसुधैव सिद्धमंत्रः ।।

व्यथयति वृथा मौनं तन्वि! प्रपंचय पंचमं
तरुणि! मधुरालापैस्तापं विनोदय दृष्टिभिः ।
सुमुखि! विमुखीभावं तावद्विमुंच न मुंच मां
स्वयमतिशयस्निग्धो मुग्धे! प्रियोऽयमुपस्थितः ।।

बन्धूकद्युतिबान्धवोऽयमधरः स्निग्धो मधूकच्छवि-
र्गंडश्चंडि! चकास्ति नीलनलिनश्रीमोचनं लोचनम्।
नासाऽभ्येति तिलप्रसूनपदवीं कुन्दाभदन्ति! प्रिये!
प्रायस्त्वन्मुखसेवया विजयते विश्वं स पुष्पायुधः ।।

दृशौ तव मदालसे वदनमिन्दुसन्दीपनं
गतिर्जनमनोरमा विजितरम्भमूरुद्वयम् ।
रतिस्तव कलावती रुचिरचित्रलेखे भ्रुवा-
वहो विबुधयौवतं वहसि तन्वि! पृथ्वीगता ।।

स प्रीतिं तनुतां हरिः कुवलयापीडेन सार्धं रणे
राधापीनपयोधरस्मरणकृत्कुम्भेन संभेदवान् ।
यत्र स्विद्यति मीलति क्षणमपि क्षिप्रं तदालोकन-
व्यामोहेन जितं जितं जितमभूत्कंसस्य कोलाहलः ।।

एकादशः सर्गः

(सानन्दगोविन्दः)

सुचिरमनुनयेन प्रीणयित्वा मृगाक्षीं
गतवति कृतवेशे केशवे कुंजशय्याम् ।
रचितरुचिरभूषां दृष्टिमोषे प्रदोषे
स्फुरति निरवसादां काऽपि राधां जगाद ।।

(वसन्त राग —यति ताल)

विरचितचाटुवचनरचनं चरणे रचितप्रणिपातम् ।
सम्प्रति मंजुलवंजुलसीमनि केलिशयनमनुयातम् ।।

मुग्धे! मधुमथनमनुगतमनुसर राधिके! ।।

घनजघनस्तनभारभरे! दरमन्थरचरणविहारम् ।
मुखरितमणिमंजीरमुपैहि विधेहि मरालनिकारम् ।।

श्रृणु रमणीयतरं तरुणीजनमोहनमधुपविरावम् ।
कुसुमशरासनशासनबन्दिनि पिकनिकरे भज भावम् ।।

अनिलतरलकिसलयनिकरेण करेण लतानिकुरम्बम् ।
प्रेरणमिव करभोरु! करोति गतिं प्रति मुञ्च विलम्बम् ।।

स्फुरितमनंगतरंगवशादिव सूचितहरिपरिरम्भम् ।
पृच्छ मनोहरहारविमलजलधारममुं कुचकुम्भम् ।।

अधिगतमखिलसखीभिरिदं तव वपुरपि रतिरणसज्जम् ।
चण्डि! रसितरसनारवडिंडिममभिसर सरसमलज्जम् ।।

स्मरशरसुभगनखेन सखीमवलम्ब्य करेण सलीलम् ।
चल वलयक्वणितैरवरोधय हरिमपि निगदितशीलम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमधरीकृतहारमुदासितवामम् ।
हरिविनिहितमनसामधितिष्ठतु कंठतटीमविरामम् ।।

सा मां द्रक्ष्यति वक्ष्यति स्मरकथां प्रत्यंगमालिंगनैः
प्रीतिं यास्यति रंस्यते सखि! समागत्येति चिन्ताकुलः ।
स त्वां पश्यति वेपते पुलकयत्यानन्दति स्विद्यति
प्रत्युद्गच्छति मूर्च्छति स्थिरतमःपुंजे निकुंजे प्रियः ।।

अक्ष्णोर्निक्षिपदंजनं श्रवणयोस्तापिच्छगुच्छावलीं
मूर्ध्नि श्यामसरोजदाम कुचयोः कस्तूरिकापत्रकम् ।
धूर्तानामभिसारसंभ्रमजुषां विष्वङ् निकुंजे सखि!
ध्वान्तं नीलनिचोलचारु सुदृशां प्रत्यंगमालिंगति ।।

काश्मीरगौरवपुषामभिसारिकाणा-
माबद्धरेखमभितो रुचिमंजरीभिः ।
एतत्तमालदलनीलतमं तमिस्रं
तत्प्रेमहेमनिकषोपलतां तनोति ।।

हारावलीतरलकांचनकांचिदाम-
केयूरकंकणमणिद्युतिदीपितस्य ।
द्वारे निकुंजनिलयस्य हरिं निरीक्ष्य
व्रीडावतीमथ सखी स्वयमित्युवाच ।।

(वराडी राग — रूपक ताल)

मंजुतरकुंजतलकेलिसदने ।
विलस रतिरभसहसितवदने !
प्रविश राधे! माधवसमीपमिह ।।

नवभवदशोकदलशयनसारे ।
विलस कुचकलशतरलहारे !

कुसुमचयरचितशुचिवासगेहे ।
विलस कुसुमसुकुमारदेहे ।।

चल मलयपवनसुरभिशीते ।
विलस रतिवलितललितगीते !

विततबहुवल्लिनवपल्लवघने ।
विलस चिरमलसपीनजघने !

मधुमुदितमधुपकुलकलितरावे ।
विलस मदनरससरसभावे ।।

मधुरतरपिकनिकरनिनदमुखरे ।
विलस दशनरुचिरुचिरशिखरे ।।

विहितपद्मावतीसुखसमाजे ।
कुरु मुरारे! मंगलशतानि ।
भणति जयदेवकविराजराजे ।।

त्वां चित्तेन चिरं वहन्नयमतिश्रान्तो भृशं तापितः
कन्दर्पेण च पातुमिच्छति सुधासंबाधबिम्बाधरम् ।
अस्याङ्कं तदलंकुरु क्षणमिह भ्रूक्षेपलक्ष्मीलव-
क्रीते दास इवोपसेवितपदाम्भोजे कुतः सम्भ्रमः ?

सा ससाध्वससानन्दं गोविन्दे लोललोचना ।
सिंजानमंजुमंजीरं प्रविवेशाभिवेशनम् ।।

(वराडी राग — यति ताल)

राधावदनविलोकनविकसितविविधविकारविभंगम् ।
जलनिधिमिव विधुमंडलदर्शनतरलिततुंगतरंगम् ।।

हरिमेकरसं चिरमभिलषितविलासम् ।
सा ददर्श गुरुहर्षवशंवदवदनमनंगनिवासम् ।।

हारममलतरतारमुरसि दधतं परिरभ्य विदूरम् ।
स्फुटतरफेनकदम्बकरम्बितमिव यमुनाजलपूरम् ।।

श्यामलमृदुलकलेवरमंडलमधिगतगौरदुकूलम् ।
नीलनलिनमिव पीतपरागपटलभरवलयितमूलम् ।।

तरलदृगंचलचलनमनोहरवदनजनितरतिरागम् ।
स्फुटकमलोदरखेलितखंजनयुगमिव शरदि तडागम् ।।

वदनकमलपरिशीलनमिलितमिहिरसमकुंडलशोभम् ।
स्मितरुचिरुचिरसमुल्लसिताधरपल्लवकृतरतिलोभम् ।।

शशिकिरणच्छुरितोदरजलधरसुन्दरसकुसुमकेशम् ।
तिमिरोदितविधुमंडलनिर्मलमलयजतिलकनिवेशम् ।।

विपुलपुलकभरदन्तुरितं रतिकेलिकलाभिरधीरम् ।
मणिगणकिरणसमूहसमुज्ज्वलभूषणसुभगशरीरम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितविभवद्विगुणीकृतभूषणभारम् ।
प्रणमत हृदि विनिधाय हरिं सुचिरं सुकृतोदयसारम् ।।

अतिक्रम्यापांगं श्रवणपथपर्यन्तगमन–
प्रयासेनेवाक्ष्णोस्तरलतरतारं गमितयोः ।
इदानीं राधायाः प्रियतमसमायातसमये
पपात स्वेदाम्भःप्रसर इव हर्षाश्रुनिकरः ।।

भजन्त्यास्तल्पान्तं कृतकपटकंडूतिपिहित-
स्मितं याते गेहाद्बहिरवहितालीपरिजने ।
प्रियास्यं पश्यन्त्याः स्मरपरवशाकूतसुभगं
सलज्जा लज्जाऽपि व्यगमदिव दूरं मृगदृशः ।।

सानन्दं नन्दसूनुर्दिशतु मितपरं संमदं मन्दमन्दं
राधामाधाय बाह्वोर्विवरमनु दृढं पीडयन्प्रीतियोगात् ।
तुंगौ तस्या उरोजावतनु! वरतनोर्निर्गतौ मा स्म भूतां
पृष्ठं निर्भिद्य तस्माद्बहिरिति वलितग्रीवमालोकयन्वः ।।

जयश्रीविन्यस्तैर्महित इव मन्दारकुसुमैः
स्वयं सिन्दूरेण द्विपरणमुदा मुद्रित इव ।
भुजाऽऽपीडक्रीडाहतकुवलयापीडकरिणः
प्रकीर्णासृग्बिन्दुर्जयति भुजदंडो मुरजितः ।।

सौन्दर्यैकनिधेरनंगललनालावण्यलीलाजुषो
राधाया हृदि पल्वले मनसिजक्रीडैकरंगस्थले ।
रम्योरोजसरोजखेलनरसित्वादात्मनः ख्यापय-
न्ध्यातुर्मानसराजहंसनिभतां देयान्मुकुन्दो मुदम् ।।

द्वादशः सर्गः

(सुप्रीतपीताम्बरः)

गतवति सखीवृन्देऽमन्दत्रपाभरनिर्भर-
स्मरपरवशाकूतस्फीतस्मितस्नपिताधराम् ।
सरसमनसं दृष्ट्वा राधां मुहुर्नवपल्लव-
प्रसवशयने निक्षिप्ताक्षीमुवाच हरिः प्रियाम् ।।

(विभास राग — एकताली ताल)

किसलयशयनतले कुरु कामिनि ! चरणनलिनविनिवेशम् ।
तव पदपल्लववैरिपराभवमिदमनुभवतु सुवेशम् ।।
क्षणमधुना नारायणमनुगतमनुसर राधिके!

करकमलेन करोमि चरणमहमागमिताऽसि विदूरम् ।
क्षणमुपकुरु शयनोपरि मामिव नूपुरमनुगतिशूरम् ।।

वदनसुधानिधिगलितममृतमिव रचय वचनमनुकूलम् ।
विरहमिवापनयामि पयोधररोधकमुरसि दुकूलम् ।।

प्रियपरिरम्भणरभसवलितमिव पुलकितमतिदुरवापम् ।
मदुरसि कुचकलशं विनिवेशय शोषय मनसिजतापम् ।।

अधरसुधारसमुपनय भामिनि! जीवय मृतमिव दासम् ।
त्वयि विनिहितमनसं विरहानलदग्धवपुषमविलासम् ।।

शशिमुखि! मुखरय मणिरशनागुणमनुगुणकंठनिनादम् ।
श्रुतियुगले पिकरुतविकले मम शमय चिरादवसादम् ।।

मामतिविफलरुषा विकलीकृतमवलोकितुमधुनेदम् ।
लज्जितमिव नयनं तव विरमति सृजसि वृथा रतिखेदम् ।।

श्रीजयदेवभणितमिदमनुपदनिगदितमधुरिपुमोदम् ।
जनयतु रसिकजनेषु मनोरमरतिरसभावविनोदम् ।।

प्रत्यूहः पुलकांकुरेण निबिडाश्लेषे निमेषेण च
क्रीडाकूतविलोकितेऽधरसुधापाने कथाकेलिभिः ।
आनन्दाधिगमेन मन्मथकलायुद्धेऽपि यस्मिन्नभू-
दुद्भूतः स तयोर्बभूव सुरतारम्भः प्रियंभावुकः ।।

दोर्भ्यां संयमितः पयोधरभरेणापीडितः पाणिजै-
राविद्धो दशनैः क्षताधरपुटः श्रोणीतटेनाहतः ।
हस्तेनानमितः कचेऽधरमधुस्यन्देन संमोहितः
कान्तः काममपि तृप्तिमाप तदहो कामस्य वामा गतिः ! ।।

वामांगे रतिकेलिसंकुलरणारम्भे तया साहस-
प्रायं कान्तजयाय किंचिदुपरि प्रारम्भि यत्सम्भ्रमात् ।
निष्पन्दा जघनस्थली शिथिलिता दोर्वल्लिरुत्कम्पितं
वक्षो मीलितमक्षि पौरुषरसः स्त्रीणां कुतः सिद्धयति! ।।

तस्याः पाटलपाणिजांकितमुरो निद्राकषाये दृशौ
निर्धौतोऽधरशोणिमा विलुलिताः स्रस्तस्रजो मूर्द्धजाः ।
कांचीदाम दरश्लथांचलमिति प्रातर्निखातैर्दृशो-
रेभिः कामशरैस्तदद्भुतमभूत् पत्युर्मनः कीलितम् ।।

व्याकोशः केशपाशस्तरलितमलकैः स्वेदमोक्षौ कपोलौ
क्लिष्टा बिम्बाधरश्रीः कुचकलशरुचा हारिता हारयष्टिः ।
कांचीकान्तिर्हताशा स्तनजघनपदं पाणिनाऽऽच्छाद्य सद्यः
पश्यन्ती सत्रपा सा तदपि विलुलितस्रग्धरेयं धिनोति ।।

मीलद्दृष्टि मिलत्कपोलपुलकं सीत्कारधारावशा-
दव्यक्ताकुलकेलिकाकुविकसद्दन्तांशुधौताधरम् ।
श्वासोत्कंपिपयोधरोपरि परिष्वंगात्कुरंगीदृशो
हर्षोत्कर्षविमुक्तनिःसहतनोर्धन्यो धयत्याननम् ।।

अथ सहसा सुप्रीतं सुरतान्ते सा नितान्तखिन्नांगी ।
राधा जगाद सादरमिदमानन्देन गोविन्दम् ।।

(रामकरी राग — यति ताल)

कुरु यदुनन्दन! चन्दनशिशिरतरेण करेण पयोधरे ।
मृगमदपत्रकमत्र मनोभवमंगलकलशसहोदरे ।।

निजगाद सा यदुनन्दने क्रीडति हृदयानन्दने ।।

अलिकुलगंजनमंजनकं रतिनायकसायकमोचने ।
त्वदधरचुम्बनलम्बितकज्जल उज्ज्वलय प्रिय! लोचने ।।

नयनकुरंगतरंगविकासनिरासकरे श्रुतिमंडले ।
मनसिजपाशविलासधरे शुभवेश! निवेशय कुंडले ।।

भ्रमरचयं रचयन्तमुपरि रुचिरं सुचिरं मम संमुखे ।
जितकमले विमले परिकर्मय नर्मजनकमलकं मुखे ।।

मृगमदरसवलितं ललितं कुरु तिलकमलिकरजनीकरे ।
विहितकलंककलं कमलानन! विश्रमितश्रमशीकरे ।।

मम रुचिरे चिकुरे कुरु मानद! मनसिजध्वजचामरे ।
रतिगलिते ललिते कुसुमानि शिखंडिशिखंडकडामरे ।।

सरसघने जघने मम शम्बरदारणवारणकन्दरे ।
मणिरशनावसनाभरणानि शुभाशय! वासय सुन्दरे ।।

श्रीजयदेववचसि रुचिरे हृदयं सदयं कुरु मंडने ।
हरिचरणस्मरणामृतनिर्मितकलिकलुषज्वरखंडने ।।

रचय कुचयोश्चित्रं पत्रं कुरुष्व कपोलयो-
र्घटय जघने कांचीं मुग्धस्रजा कबरीभरम् ।
कलय वलयश्रेणीं पाणौ पदे कुरु नूपुरा-
विति निगदितः प्रीतः पीताम्बरोऽपि तथाऽकरोत् ।।

पर्यंकीकृतनागनायकफणाश्रेणीमणीनां गणे
संक्रान्तप्रतिबिम्बसम्बलनया बिभ्रद्विभुप्रक्रियाम् ।
पादाम्भोरुहधारिवारिधिसुतामक्ष्णां दिदृक्षुः शतैः
काव्यव्यूहमिवाचरन्नुपचितीभूतो हरिः पातु वः ।।

त्वामप्राप्य मयि स्वयंवरपरां क्षीरोदनीरोदरे
शंके सुन्दरि! कालकूटमपिबन्मूढो मृडानीपतिः ।
इत्थं पूर्वकथाभिरन्यमनसो निक्षिप्य वक्षोंऽचलं
राधायाः स्तनकोरकोपरि मिलन्नेत्रो हरिः पातु वः ।।

यद्गान्धर्वकलासु कौशलमनुध्यानं च यद् वैष्णवं
यच्छृंगारविवेकतत्त्वमपि यत् काव्येषु लीलायितम् ।
तत् सर्वं जयदेवपंडितकवेः कृष्णैकतानात्मनः
सानन्दाः परिशोधयन्तु सुधियः श्रीगीतगोविन्दतः ।।

श्रीभोजदेवप्रभवस्य रामा-
देवीसुतश्रीजयदेवकस्य ।
पराशरादिप्रियवर्गकंठे
श्रीगीतगोविन्दकवित्वमस्तु ।।

साध्वी माध्वीक! चिन्ता न भवति भवतः शर्करे! कर्कशाऽसि
द्राक्षे! द्रक्ष्यन्ति के त्वाममृत! मृतमसि क्षीर! नीरं रसस्ते ।
माकन्द! क्रन्द कान्ताधर! धरणितलं गच्छ यच्छन्ति भावं
यावच्छृंगारसारस्वतमिह जयदेवस्य विष्वग्वचांसि ।।

इत्थं केलितततीर्विहृत्य यमुनाकूले समं राधया
तद्रोमावलिमौक्तिकावलियुगे वेणीभ्रमं बिभ्रति ।
तत्राह्लादिकुचप्रयागफलयोर्लिप्सावतोर्हस्तयो-
र्व्यापाराः पुरुषोत्तमस्य ददतु स्फीतां मुदां संपदम् ।।

। समाप्तमिदं काव्यम् ।

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